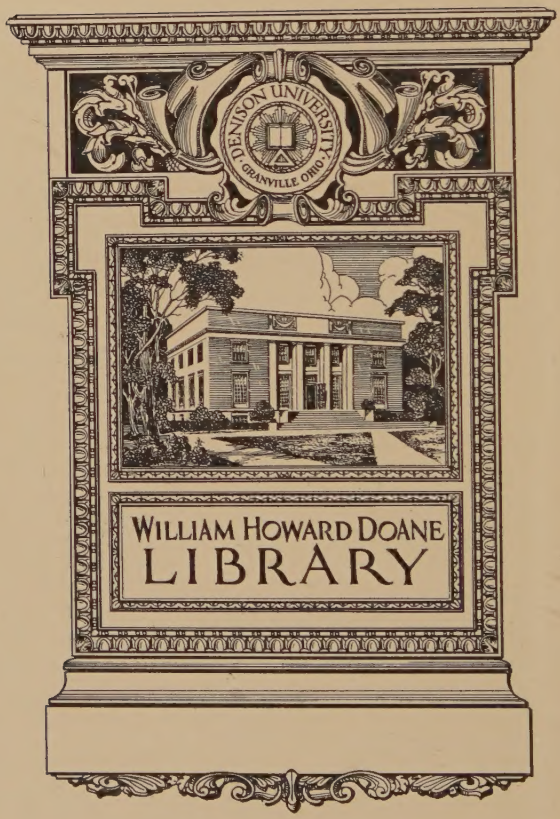
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AMERICAN

PRESBYTERIANISM

ITS ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

TOGETHER WITH AN APPENDIX OF LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS, MANY OF WHICH HAVE RECENTLY BEEN DISCOVERED

BY

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WITH MAPS

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TO

THE SENATUS ACADEMICUS

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

THE ALMA MATER OF MANY OF THE FOUNDERS OF AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM, IN MEMORY OF THE CELEBRATION OF ITS TERCENTENARY, WITH CONGRATULATIONS UPON ITS ACHIEVEMENTS, AND PRAYER FOR ITS INCREASED PROSPERITY,

This Book

IS DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION.

PREFACE.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM has been carefully studied by a number of the best scholars the Presbyterian Churches of America have produced. There are several works, well known to the public, of great merit. It will be sufficient to mention: *The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, by Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., Philadelphia, 1851; *History of the Presbyterian Church in America from its origin until the year 1760, with Biographical Sketches of its Early Ministers*, by the Rev. Richard Webster, Philadelphia, 1857; *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, by Ezra H. Gillett, D.D., 2 vols., Revised edition, Philadelphia, 1864; *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, by the Rev. E. T. Corwin, D.D., 3d edition, New York, 1879. These are models of their kind. The author has found them very helpful in his researches.

There are also a considerable number of valuable monographs, among which we may mention: *Sketches of North Carolina*, N. Y., 1846; *Sketches of Virginia*, Philadelphia, 1850; *Sketches of Virginia*, 2d series, Philadelphia, 1855, all by Rev. W. H. Foote, D.D., containing rich stores of information; *History of Elizabeth*, by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D., N. Y., 1868; *Historical Discourses relating to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark*, by Rev. J. F. Stearns, D.D., Newark, 1853; *History of Southold*, by the Rev. E. Whitaker, D.D., Southold, 1881;

Annals of Newtown, by James Riker, N. Y., 1852; *Two Centuries in the History of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, L. I.*, by the Rev. J. M. Macdonald, D.D., N. Y., 1862; *History of Rye*, N. Y., 1871, and *History of Bedford Church*, N. Y., 1882, both by Rev. C. W. Baird, D.D.; *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College*, by Prof. Archibald Alexander, D.D., Philadelphia, 1851; *Terra Mariae*, Philadelphia, 1867; *Founders of Maryland*, Albany, 1876; *Virginia Vetusta*, Albany, 1885, all by the Rev. E. D. Neill, D.D.

The author would not have ventured upon a field apparently so well cultivated, if it had not been for the discovery of original documents which were unknown to previous writers, and which cast a flood of light upon the origin and early history of American Presbyterianism.

An examination of the writers already mentioned revealed the fact that none of them had used the sources of information in the MS. stores of the Libraries, Museums, and Ecclesiastical and Missionary bodies of Great Britain, with the single exception of those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Accordingly the author took advantage of a summer in Great Britain to explore these sources, and he was surprised at the rich harvest awaiting him. He has spared no time, labor, or expense in the exploration of these sources, and everywhere they have been opened to his inspection with the utmost kindness.

We feel it to be a duty and a privilege to tell the story of our researches, and to render thanks where it is due. In Scotland, through the assistance of Prof. Alex. F. Mitchell, of St. Andrews, and Mr. Douglas, of Edinburgh, we were enabled to search the MS. Minutes of the Church of Scotland, from which we have made extracts of all the material relating to America, in two volumes which are deposited in the library of the Union

Theological Seminary, New York. We give to our readers several longer extracts from these records in the Appendix XXIX., XXX., XXXII., and XXXIII. Through the help of Prof. Henry Calderwood, LL.D., and Dr. Kennedy, Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, we explored the Minutes of the Associate Synods (Burger and Anti-Burger). Extracts will be found in the Appendix XXXII. Through the kindness of Prof. A. F. Mitchell, D.D., and Mr. J. W. Tawse, we examined very carefully the Minutes of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, the fruits of which will be seen especially in Chapters VII. and VIII. We are also greatly indebted to John Small, M.A., Librarian of the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. J. T. Clark, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, for free and full use of the MS. stores of these great treasures of learning. In the Advocates' Library we discovered a large amount of valuable material relating to America, which has been carefully copied under the direction of Mr. Clark, and deposited in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. From these stores we publish, for the first time, five letters of James Anderson, the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church in New York City (Appendix XX.), and letters of George McNish, George Gillespie, William Steward, and Alexander Hucheson (Appendix XXI.–XXIV.). In Glasgow we were greatly indebted to Prof. A. B. Bruce, D.D., and Prof. John Young, M.D., curator of the Hunterian Museum, and John Young, B.Sc., for access to uncatalogued books and manuscripts. Here we discovered the letter of John Eliot of 1650, which is now published for the first time in Appendix IV., giving an account of all the ministers, towns, and churches of New England at that period. We also owe our thanks to Dr. J. Marshall Lang, of Glasgow, and Dr.

Smith, of Cathcart, for the use of the MS. records of the Synod of Glasgow, which revealed the strong interest of that Synod in the American Presbyterian Churches, and assistance in funds and in supplies of ministers at an earlier date and in greater measure than was previously known.

In London we were greatly aided by Mr. Hunter, the librarian of Dr. Williams' Library, who is a model of kindness, courtesy, and attention to the wants of students. In the rich collections of this great Puritan Library we discovered, among many other things, the letter of Matthew Hill to Richard Baxter, which carries back Presbyterianism in Maryland to 1668, and links the later Presbyterianism with the early Puritan emigration from Virginia, under the lead of the ruling elder, William Durand (see Appendix VIII.). Through the assistance of Mr. Hunter and the kindness of W. D. Jeremy, Barrister, we were permitted to examine the *MS.* Minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board and to discover therein the names of a number of early Presbyterian ministers aided by that Board on their way to America. Also through the effectual help of Dr. L. J. Bevan and the kindness of the Trustees of the Congregational Fund Board we were enabled to trace the origin of several other ministers sent out by that Board as missionaries to America (see Appendix XIV.). We also owe our thanks to Mr. Fred. Chalmers and W. M. Venning D.C.L., and the Governor and members of the New England Company, for important information with reference to this first missionary Society of Great Britain (see Appendix V.). To the Rev. Dr. Baker, Head Master of Merchant Taylor's School, the Rev. Dr. H. W. Tucker, Secretary, and Mr. Charles F. Pascoe, Librarian, we are indebted for the free and full use of the Minutes and Letter Books of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

in Foreign Parts, where a considerable amount of valuable material was gathered, which is given in the Appendix XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX. The author shall never forget the kindness and courtesy of the late Right Reverend Bishop of London, John Jackson, D.D., and the efficient help of his resident chaplain, the Rev. G. C. Blaxland, M. A., in the examination of the Fulham MSS., at the episcopal palace. The Librarian of the Lambeth Library, S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A.; and E. M. Thompson, Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, are renowned for their kindness and attention to scholars. We owe them our thanks for kind suggestions and help. Amid the mass of unpublished documents of the Rolls Office, the author was so fortunate as to discover among the Maryland papers, the important letter of Benjamin Woodbridge, from Portsmouth, N. H., 1690 (see Appendix XI.), which gives fresh information with reference to this city of New Hampshire, as well as the first Presbyterian preacher in Philadelphia.

In Ireland our explorations were also rewarded with success. Through the kindness of Dr. W. Fleming Stevenson and the Trustees of the Dublin General Fund, we obtained the rare privilege of access to their valuable minutes (see Appendix XV.) In Belfast, the venerable Prof. W. D. Killen, D.D., gave us access to the MS. Minutes of the Sub-Synod of Derry, and other early Irish documents in the Assembly's College. In Londonderry, the Professors, Thomas Croskery, D.D., and Thomas Witherow, D.D., placed in our hands the invaluable minutes of a number of the early Irish Presbyteries, preserved in the McGee College, the fruits of which will appear in Appendix IX. and elsewhere in the book. In Armagh, through the kindness of the Rev. J. H. Orr, Stated Clerk, and the Rev. John Eliot, pastor of the Presbyterian church, Armagh, we consulted the

MS. Minutes of the Synod of Ulster, from which a considerable amount of fresh information was derived.

In the United States, we have been greatly indebted to George Moore, LL.D., Superintendent of the Lenox Library, for the use of the treasures of that richest library in America; as also for the use of two letters of Francis Makemie, never before published (Appendix X., 3 and 4), and other material, in addition to his valued counsel. To D. McN. Stauffer, Esq., we are indebted for the privilege of consulting the most precious of all the letters of Francis Makemie, which is given in Appendix X. 5. Latimer Bailey, Esq., clerk of the Session of the First Presbyterian church, N. Y., kindly gave us repeated access to the records of the Trustees and Session, the fruit of which will appear in the book. The Rev. James W. McIlvaine, of Baltimore, has earned our thanks for furnishing the deed of gift of Ninian Beal (Appendix XII.) and other information resulting from his own researches.

We are also indebted to the Librarians of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Public Library, the Harvard College Library, the American Antiquarian Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the New York Historical Society, for transcripts of rare tracts and manuscripts.

In mentioning these, the chief sources of help, we would not be unmindful of a large number of other friends who have given us assistance in various ways too numerous to mention. We can only express our gratitude to one and all. Without the help so kindly and freely offered everywhere in Great Britain and America this work could never have been written.

We have not hesitated to use in the preparation of this book the material already given to the public in a number of articles published in periodicals from time to

time. It will suffice to mention, the *Documentary History of the Westminster Assembly*, *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1880; the *Provincial Assembly of London*, *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1881; the *Principles of Puritanism*, *Presbyterian Review*, October, 1884, (originally given as an address at Airedale College, England, but revised and enlarged for the *Review*); *Puritanism in New York in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1885; and occasional articles in several religious journals. These may all be considered as preparatory to the present work.

The author has diligently sought for original authorities, and has based his work upon them. He has been greatly favored in the discovery of a considerable amount of new material, which modifies in many important respects prevailing views as to the origin and early history of American Presbyterianism. He has, therefore, given his authorities very largely in foot-notes and in the Appendix, and by references to material which could not be introduced without overloading the book. No one will rejoice more than the author at the discovery of any material that may have escaped his attention. As he has been obliged by the evidence to change his opinion respecting several parts of the history, he will be ready to modify it still further in the light of additional evidence.

Two maps have been prepared; the one giving the names of all the settlements in the American colonies where there were Presbyterian churches already organized, or in process of formation at the close of the seventeenth century, at the beginning of the book; the other giving all the towns mentioned by John Eliot in his Description of New England in 1650, with the letter in Appendix IV.

The author will be grateful if in any way his book

may stimulate the young ministers of America to historical research in the fields where Providence has placed them. He is convinced that there is still further light to break forth from early MS. records and letters upon the origin and early history of the various Christian Churches of America.

This book was conceived in a catholic spirit and has been written upon a comprehensive plan. The growth of American Presbyterianism through internal and external struggles cannot be understood apart from the religious development of Great Britain. The religious movements in Great Britain were immediately reflected in America. The author has endeavored to trace these movements in their origin in the mother country and their development in the lands of their birth and to follow them across the ocean in their influences upon the young colonial churches.

There are several types of Presbyterianism. It has been our aim to give these adequate representation whenever they came naturally in the line of our investigation. We have not thought it necessary to discuss the different theories of Presbyterianism at the outset. The American Reformed Churches have come into view in their relations to the American Presbyterian Churches of British stock. It was not our purpose to give a history of these Churches. For an adequate history of the Dutch Reformed Church we may refer to Dr. E. T. Corwin's Manual; and for a thorough study of the French Reformed ministers and Churches, to the *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, by Dr. C. W. Baird, now in press. A satisfactory history of the American German Reformed Church is still a desideratum.

It has also been necessary to discuss the conflicts of Presbyterianism with other religious bodies in Great Britain and America. In all these discussions it has been

the desire and purpose of the author to be just and kind to all denominations and to all parties. He has not hesitated to condemn error, sin, and partisanship wherever he has found it. Union cannot be purchased at the sacrifice of truth or principle. We have no sympathy with those who magnify differences, nor with those who would reduce them to a minimum. We desire the organic union of all branches of the Presbyterian family in a broad, comprehensive, generous, catholic Presbyterianism. This can never be accomplished by the suppression of differences or by abstinence from their discussion. The liberty and the variety are as important as the unity and the conformity to a common order. True union is the combination of these centripetal and centrifugal forces.

We are also hopeful of a combination of Protestantism and the ultimate reunion of Christendom. We are sincerely attached to American Presbyterianism as the religion of our ancestors—we believe that it is in advance of all other Christian denominations in the realization of the ideal of Christianity; but Presbyterianism is not a finality. It is the stepping-stone to something higher and grander yet to come, when the Spirit of God shall be poured out in richer measure and in more abounding gifts and graces upon the Christian world, in order to a revival of religion which will transcend the Protestant Reformation by its omnipotent energy and world-wide sweep.

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CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN EUROPE.

PRESBYTERIANISM is a system of church government by presbyters. It is thereby distinguished from the other systems of church government, the papal, the prelatical, the consistorial, and the congregational. In the papal system, the authority over the church is in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, culminating in the pope at Rome. In the prelatical system the government of the church is in the hands of prelates, or diocesan bishops. This is the method of the Greek and other Oriental Churches, of the Church of England, and of her daughters. Several varieties of this system are found in different lands and in the successive periods of history. The consistorial system was adopted by the most of the churches of the Lutheran Reformation. These churches were governed by consistories appointed by the princes or other civil authorities. The congregational system lodges the government of the church in the congregation itself, which is composed of a number of believers associated "by way of a church covenant." This method makes every congregation independent in its government; the churches are associated only for advice, and co-operation in public affairs. In the presbyterian system all ecclesiastical authority is in the body of presbyters, called by Christ and ordained by presbyters to rule over the church. These presbyters are associated for the purposes of government in congregational Presbyteries, classical Presby-

teries, provincial Synods, national Assemblies, and œcumenical Councils. The larger bodies are superior in authority to the smaller, in an ascending grade.

Presbyterianism does not claim that the presbyters of any branch of the Church of Christ have the exclusive authority over the church. It recognizes the ordained presbyters of the congregational and consistorial systems. It recognizes that the pope and the prelates are presbyters, but declines to recognize them as of a higher order than presbyters. For presbyters are the genuine bishops of the New Testament, and the true apostolic succession is in the presbyters who have been ordained by the apostles and their successors from the foundations of the Christian Church until the present time. This was admirably set forth by the Provincial Assembly of London in 1654:

"Ordination is an act of office received from Christ, and is not Antichristian, though executed by one that is in other things Antichristian. We do not re-baptize them that were baptized by a popish priest, because the power of God's ordinance depends not on the person that does execute the same, but upon an higher foundation, the institution of Christ. Ministerial acts are not vitiated or made null, though they passe through the hands of bad men; but stand good to all intents and purposes to such as receive them aright, by vertue of their office authoritatively derived from the first institution. A Bishop in his Presbyterial capacity hath divine right to ordain, and therefore his ordination is valid, though it be granted that he is Antichristian in his Episcopal capacity." (*The Divine Right of the Gospel-Ministry*. London, 1654. II., p. 29.)

"We say that ordination of ministers by ministers is no *Romish* institution, but instituted by the Lord Jesus himself long before Antichrist was; that our ministry is descended to us from Christ *through* the Apostate Church of *Rome*, but not *from* the Apostate Church of *Rome*." II., p. 33. "It is certain that the Church of *Rome* was a true church in the apostles' days, when the faith of it was spread throughout the world, and it is as certain that afterwards, by little and little, it apostatized, till at last Antichrist set

up his throne in that church. And yet still we must distinguish between the church and the apostasie of it; between the corn and the tares that are in it." II., p. 38. "When the Protestant Churches did separate they did not erect a new church, but reformed a corrupt church. And, therefore, ours is called the Protestant Reformed Religion." II., p. 40. "It hath pleased God out of his infinite wisdom and providence to continue the two great ordinances of baptism and ordination sound for the substantials of them in the Church of *Rome*, even in their greatest apostacy. We deny not but they have been exceedingly bemuddled and corrupted, *Baptism*, with very many superstitious ceremonies, as of oyl, spittle, crossings, etc.; *Ordination*, with giving power to the party ordained to make the body of Christ, etc. But yet the substantials have been preserved. Children were baptized with water in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost. And the parties ordained had power given them to Preach the Word of God. Now the Protestant Religion doth not teach us to renounce Baptism received in the Church of *Rome*, neither is a Papist, when converted Protestant, re-baptized. Nor doth it teach us simply and absolutely to renounce ordination; but it deals with it as the Jewes were to do with a captive maid when they had a mind to marrie her. They must shave her head and pare her nailes and put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and then take her to wife. So doth the Protestant Reformed Religion. It distinguisheth between the ordinances of God and the corruptions cleaving unto the ordinances. It washeth away all the defilements and pollutions contracted in the Church of *Rome*, both from Baptism and Ordination, but it doth not renounce either the one or the other." II., p. 41. "Our ministry is derived to us from Christ and his apostles by succession of a ministry continued in the church for 1,600 years. We have (1) a lineal succession from Christ and his Apostles; (2) not onely a lineal succession, but that which is more, and without which the lineal is of no benefit, we have a doctrinal succession also." II., p. 45.

Every denomination of Christians is under some one of these systems of church government; but it is only in Great Britain and her colonies that the divisions of Christ's Church are distinguished by names which indicate their church polity. This is owing to the conflicts

of British Christianity in the seventeenth century. The Reformed Churches of the continent of Europe and their daughters in America employ the Presbyterian form of government no less than the British Presbyterian Churches; but they prefer the name Reformed, which indicates their type of doctrine. The Presbyterian form of government has also been adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, by the Evangelical Churches of Germany, and by other religious bodies, which differ from the Presbyterian Churches in many important particulars. Presbyterian, under present circumstances, is a very inadequate term to characterize the Churches which bear the name; for Presbyterianism is vastly more than a system of church government: it embraces distinguishing features of doctrine, worship, and life.

There are several phases of Presbyterianism, a number of different types of the general system. It is necessary to keep this distinctly in mind, for there is a constant tendency in particular types and special phases to claim exclusive rights and privileges. It is important to distinguish the essential features of the Presbyterian family from the peculiarities which belong to particular lands and special denominations and parties. It is not uncommon, in the stress of controversy, to see the merely accidental and occasional features of an aggressive party assume the place of the essential features which belong to the whole family. There are features which determine all genuine Presbyterianism, and there are types which are the complements of one another as the legitimate children of the Presbyterian family. It is wrong to disregard the unity in the essential features. It is also wrong to neglect the variety in the several legitimate types of the children of Presbyterianism.

Presbyterianism belongs to the modern age of the

world, to the British type of Protestantism; but it is not a departure from the Christianity of the ancient and mediæval Church. It is rather the culmination of the development of Christianity from the times of the apostles until the present day. It comprehends the genuine Christianity of all ages. It conserves all the achievements of the Christian Church. It leads the van of the advancing host of God. It makes steady progress towards the realization of the ideal of Christianity in the golden age of the Messiah.

I.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Presbyterianism is pre-eminently Christian. It maintains that all religion, doctrines, and morals should be rooted in the Christianity of Christ and his apostles. It is not sufficient that, with the Roman Catholic, there should be an appeal to the authority of the Church of Rome. The authority of the ante-Nicene Church is not decisive to the Presbyterian as it is to the Anglo-Catholic. The Presbyterian presses back, with the Reformers, to Christ and the New Testament for the only infallible authority for doctrine and practice.

The Presbyterian does not lack the *historic* spirit, but he is suspicious of *tradition*, and critical in his attitude towards traditional usages. He insists that every genuine Christian doctrine and usage must find its historic origin and authority in the words of Christ and his apostles. He recognizes the office of the Church in Christian History to appropriate the Christianity of Christ in her life and experience, as she grows in grace under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But he also recognizes that the Church has not been faithful to the ideal,—has not been normal in her development; that there has been a mixture of good and evil; that there has been growth in grace, but that there have also been unfaithfulness, per-

versity, and apostasy. It is necessary, therefore, to discriminate between the work of the Spirit in the Church and the work of the flesh; between genuine historical Christianity and spurious traditional Christianity; between the real achievements of the Church and the corruptions into which she has been seduced.

The Scriptures are, and ever must remain, the touchstone and infallible test of the Church, the norm of its legitimate development, the line of the Great Architect for the erection of its structure. The Church is not the master over the Scriptures, but the Scriptures give the law to the Church. Presbyterianism does not recognize the authority of the Church to define infallibly what is Scripture or what is the teaching of Scripture. It declines to concede to the Church such a right to make the canon or to interpret it. The Scriptures contain in themselves the assurance of their own canonicity. The Scriptures bear with them their infallible interpretation. John Wiclif said that "the Holy Spirit teacheth us the sense of Scripture as Christ opened the Scripture to his apostles." This became the characteristic doctrine of Tyndale, Hooper, Knox, Cartwright, and of the Puritan type of Protestantism, and it received symbolic expression in the Westminster Confession.* The Presbyterian churches in their creeds define the canon, and interpret the Scriptures in decisions as to questions of faith, order, and practice; but at the same time they recognize that they themselves may be in error even in these definitions.

"All Synods or Councils since the apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both." (*Westminster Confession*, xxxi. 2, 3.)

"The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the

* *Westminster Confession*, i. 4–10.

Word of God, the only rule of faith and obedience." (*Westminster Larger Catechism*, question iii.)

The Presbyterian churches exalt the Scriptures above the Church, and urge that Christian men and Christian assemblies should wait upon God and listen for the voice of his Spirit speaking infallibly in his Word.

Presbyterianism thus firmly plants itself on the rock of ages, the original Christianity of Christ. At the same time it guards itself from Mysticism and every form of Anabaptism. It declines to break with historical Christianity. It declines to seek new revelations of the Spirit. The Spirit of God interprets to the Church not a *new* Christianity, but the *Christianity of Christ*. The Spirit of God interprets the Word of God, the charter of the Church in all ages, and does not give new revelations, either in the form of additions to the Word, or of modifications of the Word. The Holy Spirit has been the guide of the Church in all ages, and will guide the Church to the end of the world, giving it the ability to appropriate in its life and character in greater fulness and richness the Christianity of the New Testament. The Spirit of God holds the Word of God before the eyes of the Christian world, that it may see therein how far it has grown in grace, and how far it has declined into sin and error, and how sadly it has failed of its high calling in Christ Jesus. Presbyterianism applies this test to all Christian history, and recognizes through all time the work of the Holy Spirit in the progress of the Church in the normal development of Christianity. At the same time it declines to compromise itself with the corruptions of the ancient and mediæval Church in faith and in practice.

Christ is the enthroned king and saviour of the Church, the sole source of its gifts and graces, and the arbiter of its destinies. It has been the peculiar office of Presby-

terianism to contend in a life and death struggle for the crown rights of Jesus Christ. The Church is the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

"Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life to the end of the world; and doth by his own presence and Spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto. . . . . There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ." (*Westminster Confession*, xxv. 3, 6.)

Thus Presbyterianism exalts the Christianity of Jesus Christ above the Christianity of the ancient and the mediæval Church as the ultimate, the real Christianity; as the model after which all historical Christianity is to be reformed, and to which it is to be assimilated. It enthrones Christ above Christianity as the only king and saviour. If the Presbyterian Church is not the most Christian of all the Churches of Christendom, it is not the fault of its *theory*, but of its *practice*. It has the true apostolic succession in striving after the apostolic faith in its purity, integrity, and fulness.

Presbyterianism represents a *real*, a *living* Christianity. It did not battle for the crown rights of Christ and then restrict them by General Assembly and Presbytery. It did not dethrone the Roman pontiff and the prelates of Great Britain in order to enthrone Presbytery in their place. If there was room for the complaint that Presbyter was "priest writ large," it was a fault in the practice of Presbyterianism, and not in its theory. Ecclesiasticism appears in the history of Presbyterianism, but it is alien to its spirit and its principles. True Presbyterianism is a living organism looking to the enthroned Christ as king, and waiting on his royal word. True Presbyterianism is an organism of divine grace under the guidance and efficacious working of the Spirit of God.

There may be the outward forms of Presbyterianism

without the Presbyterian spirit. There may be Presbyterian doctrines without Presbyterian principles. There may be Presbyterian forms of worship without Presbyterian life and piety. There is ground in some quarters for the complaint that Presbyterianism needs to be *Christianized.* We would rather say that a *formal* Presbyterianism needs quickening by the Spirit of God, that it may be a *real Presbyterianism.* Ecclesiasticism and scholasticism have in some places taken away its liberty, its freshness, its spontaneity and energy, and have threatened its life. Presbyterianism is casting off this scholasticism and ecclesiasticism in order to a clearer apprehension of its own essential principles, and to a better realization of its real spirit in an aggressive and progressive Christianity.

Presbyterianism has been too often represented by spurious types which were not born of Presbyterianism, but were the children of Anabaptism. The Presbyterian principle recognizes the supremacy of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, but declines to imprison his divine energy in its external form and letter. Presbyterianism did not reject the authority of the papal church and the prelatical church, in order to establish the authority of a Presbyterian church. It did not make the Bible supreme as a book, but as the living word of the living God. It did not bind itself to a *written* book, but to the Holy Spirit, who uses the Bible (written or spoken) as a means of grace. Presbyterianism recognizes the enthroned Christ as the source of Christianity to every age. The Word of God is the "sceptre of his kingdom," and divinely called presbyters are his officers, commissioned to govern the Church with his authority and in his fear.

It never was a legitimate Presbyterian principle to confine worship, doctrine, and practice to the express command of Scripture. It was a perversion of the Pres-

byterian principle which required a "Thus saith the Lord" for every precept and every practice. This was a mark of the separating Anabaptists and Brownists, and not of the Presbyterians. Presbyterians follow not only what is "expressly set down in Scripture," but also what "by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture." The teachings of Scripture are far-reaching and vastly comprehensive:

"We acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed." (*Westminster Confession*, I., 6.)

The Holy Spirit guides in the application of the principles of Scripture to all the circumstances of Christianity in the successive ages of the Church. The light of nature and Christian prudence do not conflict with the teaching of Scripture, but take their place in subordination to the voice of the Spirit in the Scripture, and co-operate for the establishment of Christianity in the world. Those who refuse to recognize the use of the light of nature and Christian prudence in the circumstantials of religion, and restrict Presbyterian order and worship and life to the *express* words of Scripture, have abandoned Presbyterian principles, and have gone over to the side of the separating Anabaptists and Brownists of the seventeenth century.

The Holy Spirit interprets the Scripture to the believer, and especially to the divinely called presbyters of the Church. He turns the light of the Scriptures upon every circumstance with interpreting application. It is not the external letter of the Scripture, but the in-

struction which pervades it; and it is not so much the instruction itself as the distribution of that instruction by the Holy Spirit, and his appropriate application of it to every time, place, and circumstance.

Presbyterianism is a religious system which is animate with the influences of the Divine Spirit. Christ is present in it as its enthroned Sovereign and Saviour. It is a real Christianity which rejects everything that is not a product of the Christianity of Jesus Christ. It appropriates everything in every age of the Church which bears the impress of Christ and which represents the power of his Spirit.

II.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND CATHOLICITY.

The term Catholic indicates the common features of Christianity—those characteristics of the religion of Jesus Christ which are to be found *semper ubique et ab omnibus.* This universality is not absolute; for there are those who bear the Christian name who are not Christians at all. It is a general and relative universality—wherever the true religion of Jesus Christ is found, whenever Christianity as such exists, and in all real Christians.

The Christian Church, from the earliest times, has been troubled by error, heresy, and spurious forms of Christianity. Some of these are essential, and destroy the marks of the true Church; others are unessential, and indicate more or less important variations from the true doctrine and practice. We must distinguish between orthodoxy and catholicity. Orthodoxy represents the whole sphere of Christian doctrine; catholicity represents only the common features of Christianity. The Presbyterian Churches are in this respect pre-eminently catholic. They adhere to all the doctrinal achievements of the ancient Church—the catholic doctrines of the Trinity, the Person of Christ, and the office of the Holy

Spirit. They do not adopt the peculiarities of the Greek or the Roman or any other branch of the Christian Church, whether in doctrine or practice: for these peculiarities are not catholic. Presbyterianism is truest to catholicity in that it insists upon those things which are truly catholic, and declines to mingle with them other things which are not catholic.

The claims of the Greek Church to be catholic in those features which distinguish it from the Roman Church, rob catholicity of its meaning. The claims of the Roman Church to be catholic in those features which separate it from the Greek and Oriental and Protestant Churches, can be maintained only by forging a spurious catholicity. When catholicity is extended so as to cover not only the great Christian Creeds and Councils, but also the great body of the Christian Fathers, it is found necessary to limit these Fathers to those who were orthodox, and so confound catholicity with orthodoxy. It is also necessary to explain these Fathers in an unnatural sense, and so do violence to the principles of interpretation. A consensus can be obtained only by a falsification of Christian history. The claims of the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England to a peculiar catholicity are so specious that they are hardly worthy of consideration. There is no propriety in limiting the catholic consensus to the Ante-Nicene Church, and such a consensus can be obtained only by false methods of interpretation. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between the spurious catholicity of the Greek and Roman Churches and the Anglo-Catholic party on the one hand, and the genuine catholicity of Protestantism, and especially of Presbyterianism, on the other. Presbyterianism limits catholicity to the truly catholic features of the Church of Christ, which are found alike in the Greek and Roman and Protestant branches of Christen-

dom. It does not claim catholicity for its distinctive features. It is faithful to the ideal of catholicity, and therefore is in the highest and best sense catholic.

Presbyterianism does not, however, ascribe to catholicity independent authority. It does not recognize the Creeds and Councils of the ancient Church because they are ancient, or because they are œcumenical and catholic. It sees in these catholic features of the Church the features of Christ and his Christianity. It sees in the ancient affirmations of doctrine, reaffirmations of the teachings of Christ and his apostles in forms suited to the issues of the times, to resist and overcome the anti-Christian heresies which troubled the ancient Church. It recognizes them because they were legitimate products of Christianity, not because they were the opinions of the Fathers or the Councils. It follows the Councils because they followed Christ. It honors Athanasius because Athanasius honored Christ.

But Presbyterianism declines to follow even Athanasius into error. It discriminates between his catholic doctrines and practices and his individual peculiarities, which do not represent genuine Christianity. It eliminates the historical Christianity of the Fathers, which was truly catholic, from the local and circumstantial singularities and errors, which spring from the carnal nature of the best of men, and from the worldliness of the purest of churches. It declines to ascribe inspiration to the Fathers, so as to make them the equal of the apostles and prophets. It refuses to force unnatural meanings upon the statements of the Fathers, in order to remove inadequacy and error. It recognizes that the Fathers were guided by the Holy Spirit in the decision of the great questions given them to solve for the Church of all ages, but that they were left to themselves, to their human wisdom and the light of nature, in all other matters.

Presbyterianism is pre-eminently catholic, because it presents all the genuine features of catholicity, and declines to recognize anything as catholic which is uncatholic. The Roman and Greek Churches and the Anglo-Catholic party are not so catholic, because they make uncatholic opinions and practices the tests of catholicity.

"The catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ, the Head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all. The visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation as before, under the law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. . . . . This catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible. And particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the Gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them. The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error: and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan. Nevertheless, there shall always be a Church on earth to worship God according to his will." (*Westminster Confession*, XXV. 1, 2, 4, and 5).

III.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND ORTHODOXY.

Orthodoxy is right thinking about the Christian religion. It is a broader term than Catholicity. There is a gradation in Christian doctrine. The development of doctrine in the ancient Church was essential to the being of the Church of Christ. This was the first stage of the structure of Christianity upon which everything depends. The doctrinal development of the Latin Church was the second stage in the advancement of Christendom. But this stage was not achieved by the Eastern

Churches. It was the special task of the Western Church. The achievements in doctrine of this second stage of Christianity cannot be regarded as catholic without excluding the Greek and Oriental Churches from Christianity. They are, however, the tests of orthodoxy, and are essential to the well-being of the Church when the issue has been fairly joined on the burning questions of Latin Christianity. The Greek and Oriental Churches represent an immature Christianity; but they are catholic. They bear the traits of Christianity; but they are not orthodox.

The doctrinal achievements of the Latin Church were the Augustinian doctrines of sin and of grace over against Pelagianism, and Anselm's doctrine of the Atonement. Presbyterianism is in these respects pre-eminently orthodox. It is the heir of all the doctrinal decisions of the Christian Church; but the doctrinal achievements of Latin Christianity are peculiarly its inheritance.

The Augustinian doctrines of sin and grace were abandoned by that section of the Western Church which declined to be reformed,—the Reformers were Augustinian: the contra-Reformation was semi-Pelagian. The Anselmic doctrine of the Atonement was abandoned by the unreformed Church of Rome for the weaker views of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus; but the Reformers were faithful to the doctrine of Anselm. The unreformed Roman Catholic Church declined into heterodoxy; the Protestant Reformers maintained their orthodoxy, and built the Protestant Churches of Northern Europe on the doctrinal basis of Augustine and Anselm.

The Lutheran branch of the Reformation emphasized the Augustinian doctrine of sin; the Reformed the Augustinian doctrine of grace. Luther was himself faithful to the Augustinian doctrine of grace, but the Lutherans generally declined from it into weaker views, owing to

their inadequate conception of the means of grace. The Reformed Church maintained the purest Augustinianism, and advanced the doctrine of the divine grace to a better definition under the guidance of the masterly Calvin. This brought about a conflict between Calvinists and Arminians. The Arminians reacted towards semi-Pelagianism; but the Calvinists gave Augustinianism a purer expression and a nobler form. The Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain were pre-eminently Calvinistic. All the Reformers were faithful to the Anselmic doctrine of the Atonement; but they improved it in its application to man in accordance with the peculiar problems given them to solve over against Socinianism and Romanism. The Presbyterians of Great Britain were in entire accord with these Reformers. They stereotyped these doctrines in the Westminster symbols, which still remain as the tests of orthodoxy throughout the Presbyterian world.

The Roman Catholic Church set up other tests of orthodoxy, and claimed submission to its authority as the supreme orthodoxy. But there is no such consensus and harmony in the Latin Church as these doctrines and practices would require to make them orthodox. They are not the legitimate development of the Catholic doctrines of the ancient Church. Still less can they be traced to the Christianity of Christ and his apostles. On the other hand they bear their condemnation as heterodox on their face, in that they involved the papal section of the Western Church in an apostasy from the great doctrines of Latin Christianity which had been achieved under the leadership of Augustine and Anselm.

It was the radical error of the Papacy that it raised the papal organization of the Church into the place of the Christianity of the apostles,—it installed the pope on the throne of Jesus Christ. It emphasized the means

of grace to the detriment of the Augustinian doctrine of the divine grace itself. It confined the divine grace to the magical operations of the sacraments in the hands of the priesthood. It contemplated sin in its relation to the Church, and overlooked its enormity in the eyes of God. It made sin and holiness a system of debit and credit,—God's house a house of merchandise,—a den of thieves. It undermined the Anselmic doctrine of the atonement in its sacrifice of the altar. It destroyed the *one* offering on the heavenly altar by the continual sacrifice on the multitudinous altars of the Church. It stripped the Saviour of his unique priesthood by making the ministers of the Church into a priesthood of many grades, with every variety of imperfection and sin. It took away the essential worth of the offering of Christ by estimating it according to material substances, transubstantiated by magical rites of a priesthood. These and other associated doctrines and practices of the Papacy were not only deflections from orthodoxy in an abnormal line of doctrinal development; but they were rather heresies of so great enormity that they undermined and destroyed the doctrinal structure of the Latin Church. They threw away the achievements of Augustine and Anselm. They tore down the structure of Christian doctrine which Latin Christianity had built upon the catholic doctrines of the ancient Church. They substituted for them a structure of abominations which was essentially anti-Christian. The Roman Catholic Church is catholic because it retains the catholicity of the early Church; but it mingles this catholicity with anti-Christian doctrines and practices which find their only consistency in the papal system, which is rightly regarded by Presbyterians as a phase of Anti-Christ.*

* *Westminster Confession*, xxv. 6.

The morning star of the Reformation, John Wiclif, the greatest divine of the late middle age, saw this radical error of the Papal Antichrist, and presented the remedy in the doctrine of the supremacy of the Scriptures—of the voice of the Holy Spirit teaching the Church through the Scriptures. But this truly Christian doctrine of Wiclif, which ought to have completed the doctrinal achievements of the Latin Church and crowned the doctrines of Augustine and Anselm, was rejected by the Papacy. It would have saved the orthodox doctrines of the Western Church from deterioration. It would have compacted them into a solid mass to serve as a platform for the modern age of the world; but it would have destroyed the Roman hierarchy. It was accordingly declared perilous to the Church, and the apostasy and heterodoxy became complete.

The Reformers were the truly orthodox divines who carried on the work of the middle ages to greater achievements. The Reformers overthrew Roman errors because they recognized the entire orthodox system of Latin Christianity. They not only urged the Augustinian doctrines of sin and of grace, and the Anselmic doctrine of the Atonement, but still further they combined these with Wiclif's doctrine of the supremacy of the Scriptures; and thus they were prepared by the catholic doctrines of the Ancient Church and the orthodox doctrines of the Western Church, to advance to the peculiar problems of the modern world.

Presbyterianism is orthodox because it is in entire accord with these doctrines of Augustine, Anselm, and Wiclif. It is more in accordance with all of these doctrines than is any other section of Christendom. It gives them all their appropriate place and significance with greater fidelity than does any other division of Protestantism.

IV.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

Protestantism is the Germanic branch of Christendom. It represents the doctrinal achievements of the modern age of the world. Its name indicates its negative work, namely: to protest against Roman Catholic heterodoxy, and maintain Christian orthodoxy. Protestantism is truly Christian, catholic, and orthodox, because it adheres to all the doctrinal attainments of the Church of Christ in all ages. It threw aside the rubbish of the papal system, but piously preserved the great stones of Christian doctrine placed in true position in the structure of Christianity by those master-builders, Augustine, Anselm, and Wiclif. But the work of Protestantism was also a positive work. It was the work of the Germanic race to carry the development of Christianity to greater heights and grander achievements. The Ancient Church defined the doctrines of God, the Trinity, the person of Christ, and the office of the Holy Spirit, as the marks of catholicity. The Latin Church gave birth to three great chieftains, who raised the banners of orthodoxy upon which were inscribed for all time the doctrines of sin and of grace, of the atonement, and of the authority of the Scriptures. But it remained for the modern age of the world and the Germanic Church, for Luther, Zwingli, and Tyndale, to give a thorough consideration to the application of the divine grace, of the atonement of Christ, and of the Word of God to the individual and to the Church. The discussion of these doctrines was occasioned by erroneous views which had arisen in the Church respecting the means of grace involving an abandonment of the Augustinian and Anselmic doctrines, and an ignoring of the principle of Wiclif. The whole body of Reformers with one accord rejected the errors of Rome and used

the orthodox doctrines of the middle age as a basis for a higher structure of Christian doctrine.

The first of the doctrinal achievements of Protestantism was the distinction of justification from sanctification, and the apprehension that justification is by *faith only.* The Church was now conceived as a body of *believers,* in personal union with Christ by faith. This Pauline doctrine was appropriated by Luther with such intensity of conviction and such clearness of vision as to its infinite significance that it became to the Reformation like a new revelation from God. *Faith only* was the banner erected at Wittenberg about which the nations of Northern Europe rallied. Luther was brought to this conception by falling back upon the Augustinian doctrine of sin and the Anselmic doctrine of Christ's *satisfaction* for sin, which in their entire appropriation involved justification by faith only. They excluded satisfaction by human works. They rendered impossible the removal of sins by merely external and magical remedies. Faith is the sole appropriating means of justification. It is a vital tie which binds the Christian to his Saviour. Justification is an immediate act of God and not a process. Faith is an immediate act of man and not a work. Justification and faith are combined in the satisfaction for sin by the sufferings of Christ and his justifying righteousness.

The Swiss Reformation adopted this same principle, only it did not lay so much stress upon it as upon the second principle, salvation by grace alone. This brought about a difference between the Germans and Swiss in the article of faith. Lutherans made assurance of the essence of faith, but Calvinists distinguished between simple justifying faith and the assurance of faith which is the result of growth in grace. The Lutherans were ever afraid of the doctrine of good works, lest it should

undermine the doctrine of justification by faith only; but the Calvinists insisted upon evangelical obedience in connection with their doctrine of growth in faith. The Presbyterians agreed with the Calvinists here, only they improved the doctrine of good works in relation to repentance and sanctification. They urged that simple justifying faith should grow to the attainment of infallible assurance of salvation, and that it should be associated with repentance unto life. This was not a mere turning away from sin—*contrition* in the Lutheran sense; but cross-bearing and following after Christ in the Calvinistic sense—an appropriation of holiness; and so justification passes over into sanctification. The statements of the Westminster Confession on these doctrines transcend anything produced in the other Reformed symbols. They present the high-water mark of the flow of Protestantism.*

The essential principle of the Swiss branch of the Reformation was salvation by *divine grace alone* over against the sacraments, the Church, and human instrumentalities of any kind. The Swiss branch of the Reformation was brought into conflict with the Romish doctrine of the Church and sacraments, and especially with the sacrifice of the Mass. The Swiss fell back upon the Augustinian doctrine of *grace*. The Lutheran Church believed in salvation by grace alone, but they tied the divine grace too closely to the Word and the sacraments. The Reformed Church believed that the Word and the sacraments were the ordinary means of grace, but urged that the divine grace is free, and is not to be confined to the ordinary means. It maintained that salvation is by divine grace *alone*, and not by external rites and ceremonies.

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* *Westminster Confession*, xiii.–xvi.

The Reformed system of faith was consolidated by Calvin. It then entered into conflict with the immature tendencies which had arisen in the Reformed Churches of the different nations. Geneva became the metropolis of the Reformed faith. The Calvinistic system was riper than the Lutheran. It agreed with the Lutheran in the doctrine of justification by faith alone; but it advanced beyond Luther in the doctrine of salvation by the divine grace alone; for Luther was at fault in his doctrine of the sacraments. He rejected transubstantiation, but substituted for it consubstantiation. Zwingli was crude in his conception of the sacraments. It was Calvin who first grasped the true doctrine of the Sacraments and made his doctrine characteristic of the Reformed churches. He distinguished between the divine grace and the sacramental means—he maintained that the divine grace might work without means. God is a gracious God, but He is also sovereign and free, and will not confine His operations to external instrumentalities. Yet the means of grace, and especially the Lord's Supper, are divinely appointed, and they ordinarily convey divine grace to the true believer. The grace is not so confined to the means as to produce a magical or medicinal effect. It is a spiritual energy which accompanies the external forms to the true believer, and *to him alone.* It conveys regeneration and renovation, not to the senses, but to the spiritual faculties of the elect man.

The Calvinistic system of grace is the most comprehensive and liberal of all Christian systems. It recognizes the salvation by the divine grace of men who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word or reached by the means of grace.* The

* *Westminster Confession*, x. 3; xxvii. 3.

salvation of men is not left to depend upon merely human instrumentalities and agencies. The Spirit of God works "when and where and how He pleaseth" upon the elect of God. The elect are not chosen by the arbitrary or capricious will of God, but by the gracious, the merciful will of God. The sovereignty does not limit the grace of God, but the grace of God is ever supreme and determines the sovereignty. The elect are those whom the infinite mercy of God selects; the redeemed are those whom the infinite grace of God determines to be the appropriate objects of saving love.

There have been forms of Calvinism which have hedged in the divine electing grace with sovereignty and with arbitrariness. But the Calvinistic symbols do not make this mistake. The Reformers did not emphasize the sovereignty of God, but the grace of God. God is a sovereign, but He is a divine Sovereign, and His sovereignty is not an absolutism, but a dominion of grace. To limit His grace by sovereignty is an error. God's election is an election of grace in its origination in the gracious will of God and in all its processes. To limit election by sovereignty rather than by grace is an error without justification in the Reformed symbols.

Calvinism entered into conflict with Arminianism and sharpened its definitions of the doctrine of grace so as to make them the conquering forces of the modern world. The freeness of the divine grace was emphasized. It is prevenient—it does not wait for human faith. It is anticipatory—it provides the ability which sinful men need in order to believe. It is irresistible at the supreme moment—it overcomes all the inability and inertia and resistance of a depraved nature. It is persistent, prevalent, and effectual—it never relaxes its hold upon the elect, it prevails over all his frailties,—it effects the perseverance of the saints and their ultimate sanctification.

The scholastic theologians of Switzerland and Holland perverted these precious doctrinal achievements of Calvinism into hard, stern, and barren dogmas, by emphasizing their formal, technical, and merely external character. They neglected to discriminate the processes of the divine grace as the Lutheran scholastics neglected the stages of growth in faith. The order of the decrees and the order of salvation were carefully elaborated in artificial logical systems, but these were poor mechanical substitutes for it. In the Arminian conflict the scholastics were the bitter foes of the Arminians, and they went to such extremes of logical deduction that they sought to exclude from orthodoxy those who were more orthodox than themselves. They divided the Calvinistic camp into two parties—scholastic Calvinists, and moderate Calvinists. They emphasized the sovereignty of the divine grace, and limited it in the direction of arbitrariness and wilfulness. The British Presbyterians were real Calvinists over against the Arminians, but, when they constructed the Westminster symbols, they declined to compromise themselves with the technical and formal elaborations of Calvinism in the scholastic systems.

Reynolds, Calamy, Marshall, Baxter, not to speak of the older Ball and Cartwright, had the true spirit of the Reformation. They did not neglect to lay stress upon human activity in redemption. As they insisted that faith should pass over into repentance unto life, and the full assurance of salvation; so they also urged that the grace of God in the heart should manifest itself in an experience of grace in the life; in a graceful temper and gracious character. They urged the prevenient grace of God as the sole source of redemption. They magnified the vital energy of the divine grace, and laid stress upon effectual calling and divine adoption; but they

carefully guarded the doctrines of predestination and election from abuse; insisting that

"God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin; nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." (*Westminster Confession of Faith*, iii., 1.)

There is effectual calling to Jesus Christ, "yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace." But it is especially in the assurance of grace and salvation that Presbyterianism in this department reaches its height:

"This certainly is not a bare conjectural and probable persuasion, grounded upon a fallible hope; but an infallible assurance of faith, founded upon the divine truth of the promises of salvation, the inward evidence of those graces unto which these promises are made, the testimony of the Spirit of adoption witnessing with our spirits that we are the children of God." . . . . "It is the duty of every one to give all diligence to make his calling and election sure; that thereby his heart may be enlarged in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, in love and thankfulness to God, and in strength and cheerfulness in the duties of obedience, the proper fruits of this assurance; so far is it from inclining men to looseness." (*Westminster Confession of Faith*, chap. xviii. 2–3.)

We shall not presume to deny that the Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly laid too much stress upon the doctrines of Predestination and Election. This they shared with the entire Reformation movement. It was essential that they should take this point of view at that time. All true reformers were agreed here. But we claim that British Presbyterians guarded these doctrines from abuse better than the Continental divines, and that they advanced upon them in urging growth in grace, and a progressive application of grace in redemption.*

* It has been the misfortune of Presbyterianism that the symbols which it

V.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND PURITANISM.

Puritanism was the great religious force of the seventeenth century, the most powerful influence in British thought and life since the Reformation. It was indeed the British type of Protestantism,—the Protestantism of the Reformation advancing to a higher and grander manifestation. The Reformation in Great Britain was an irresistible movement of the people. It was combated by monarchs, princes, and prelates. It was restrained, so far as possible, by the authorities in church and state. Every effort was put forth to constrain it into prescribed channels. There was a long and intense struggle between the new life and the old forms it was forced to wear. That struggle grew fiercer and fiercer. It became a life-and-death combat. The monarchs and their prelates raised their determination to the pitch of tyranny and despotism. They undertook to crush evangelical liberty and to clothe the Protestant spirit in a semi-papal uniform. But when patience ceased to be a virtue and endurance reached its climax, the youthful energy and indomitable life of Puritanism burst the bands, cast off the compromising dresses, and monarch and prelates went down in the common ruin.

The Puritan era is the heroic age for Great Britain

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framed have been interpreted, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from the point of view of the alien scholastic writers of the Continent. The circumstances of their historic origin, and the writings of those who framed them, have been neglected and forgotten. We seldom notice references to Westminster divines, or early Puritans, other than the scholastic Owen, in the theological works of the leaders of orthodoxy in the Presbyterian churches of the past century. One who takes the pains to study the Puritans and Westminster divines in their writings soon discovers that the grace of God to them was an intensely practical grace,—a grace of experience, a grace of Christian life. The virus of Scholasticism had not yet inoculated them as it did their feebler descendants when they forsook the favorite Biblical studies of their Fathers for a strife over dogmatic commonplaces.

and for America. In it were the foundations laid for all that is noblest and best in subsequent times. It is true it gave birth to a large number of conflicting sects which waged an unrelenting warfare with one another. A gangrene of heresies spread all over England. The stately robes of Anglo-Roman conformity were torn in shreds and every fragment gave birth to a new sect. But out of this vast complexity, this marvellous variety of Puritanism, the stately structure of British and American Christianity has been rising in higher and grander stages; for the unifying principle of Puritanism has been at work as the most potent force in Anglo-Saxon History; working through many generations of conflict, changing intolerance into *toleration*, and checking separation by *comprehension*. It aims, as we believe, at organic unity, —a unity not of uniformity or conformity; but a unity in variety, a unity such as we find in all the great works of God; a unity of life, of liberty, of progress; a unity which is the organizing force of a vast and complex organism, which will come to manifestation in the apex of a pyramid, embracing all the phases of evangelical Christianity. This organic principle of Puritanism is embedded in the great Puritan symbol, the Westminster Confession of Faith:

"God alone is Lord of the Conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring an implicit faith and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also." (xx. 2.)

This principle of Puritanism was a growth of centuries, and it had to be wrought into the life and experience of the British people. This could only be brought

about by conflict and suffering unto death. The history of Puritanism is a history of struggle for religious liberty. Puritanism is rich in martyrs. It has advanced, like early Christianity, through a series of persecutions. It has gained its victories with the blood and the nerves of its noblest and its best.

It has been well said that "England could produce no Luther in the sixteenth century, simply because it had had its Luther already in the fourteenth." *

John Wiclif was indeed the morning star of the Reformation, heralding its dawn. He struck at the root of the authority of the hierarchy in his principle of the supreme authority of the Scriptures. He wielded the flaming sword of God with which to conquer every form of Ecclesiasticism and Scholasticism when he said: "The Holy Spirit teacheth us the sense of Scripture as Christ opened the Scripture to His apostles." Wiclif was sustained by potent influences, and passed to his grave in peace; but his followers, who went up and down preaching the gospel to the people of England, sealed their testimony with their blood, and became the front rank of the martyrs of Puritanism. A forlorn hope in the assault upon the battlements of Rome, they opened the way of liberty through fire and blood.

The Reformation in England differs from the Reformation on the Continent in that it lacked a great heroic leader. There was no Luther or Zwingli or Calvin to lead the nation to evangelical faith and liberty. But England has the vastly greater honor of finding its chief reformer in a hunted man of the people, who gave himself, with self-sacrificing devotion, to the translation of the Word of God for the British nation,—William Tyndale, the martyr reformer, dying at the stake, October

* Mitchell, A. F., *Westminster Assembly*, p. 3; London, 1883.

6, 1536, with the prayer: "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." He was the true reformer for Great Britain, the man chosen of God to lead a Reform which was deeper, more thorough, longer in its sweep, higher in its range, grander in its destiny, than those branches of the Reformation which sprang from Wittenberg and Zurich. For Puritanism had in it a principle of reform which was the most far-reaching of the principles of the Reformation. On this account it was doomed to martyrdom, for a series of generations, in order that by prolonged suffering for Christ and his truth the Puritans might become the more profoundly dependent upon God, the closer in fellowship with their Redeemer, the more resolute and athletic in the centuries of conflict before them. For it was the destiny of Puritanism to bear the banner of Evangelical progress to loftier heights long after the Protestantism of the Continent had become stereotyped in varied forms of Scholasticism.

The British Reformation early divided itself into two antagonistic parties, the ecclesiastical or conservative party, and the popular or progressive party; the one would keep as near to Rome as possible; the other sought close conformity with the Reformed Churches of the Continent and a complete reformation.

The Puritan party secured the XXXIX Articles, the Prelatical party rallied around the Book of Common Prayer. The XXXIX Articles took its position among the Reformed Confessions. The Book of Common Prayer retained not a few of the forms of Papacy. This double and inconsistent standard became the bane of the Church of England.

The XXXIX Articles assumed the essential principle of Puritanism in the statement:

"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby,

is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." (Art. VI.)

But this principle was outraged and violated by the Prelatical party at every stage of the conflict. For the Book of Common Prayer did require, in the Prelatical demand for uniformity, a large number of things which, assuredly, were not contained in Scripture, and which could not be deduced from Scripture. The Puritans took their stand on the 6th Article, and contended that the Romish and unscriptural things should be removed from the Prayer-Book.

Bishops Hugh Latimer, John Hooper, Farrar, and many others, Puritan ministers and laymen, followed Tyndale in martyrdom; but the blood of these martyrs became the seed of the church. The exiled Puritans went to Geneva, the head-quarters of the Reformation, and studied in the school of Calvin. They returned under Elizabeth a new generation to renew the struggle with fresh vigor. And then the Puritan conflict became intense. In Scotland it triumphed under the leadership of the bold and brave Knox. His Scottish Confession (1560) took the advanced Puritan position.

"As we believe and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfite, so do we affirme and avow the authoritie of the same to be of God, neither to depend on men or angelis. We affirme, therefore, that sik as allege the Scripture to have no uther authoritie but that quhilk it has received from the Kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the treu Kirk quhilk alwaies heares and obeyis the voice of her awin spouse and pastor, but takis not upon her to be maistres over the sammin." (Art. XIX.)

Here the Scotch Confession advances beyond the Anglican and reaffirms the principle of Wiclif; for the Anglican Confession, while it affirms the sole authority

of Scripture, bases the canon of Scripture on the authority of church tradition, and leaves its interpretation undefined; whereas the Puritan position lodges the authority of the Bible in itself. God in it speaks with authoritative voice to believers, determining the canon and its interpretation. The Scottish reformation was carried through in doctrine, discipline, and worship. Knox's book of Common Order displaced the Mass book; Presbytery took the place of Papacy; the Scottish nation as a nation was reformed. In England it was far different. The leader of the English Elizabethan Puritanism was Thomas Cartwright; and he was required to pursue the path of suffering opened up by the Puritan worthies that preceded him. And yet he waged a brave, earnest, and persistent struggle against arbitrary and tyrannical prelatical rule. The Puritans, with few exceptions, were not put to death under Elizabeth by fire and sword, but they were deprived, fined, imprisoned, exiled, and abused in a fashion that was worse than death. But all this persecution could not accomplish its purpose. Nonconformity increased; the better part of the laity sympathized with their deprived pastors, and declined to conform. The nation was more and more alienated from the prelates and became Puritan.

It is important that we should carefully note the application of the Puritan principle to the conformity that the romanizing prelates strove to force upon them. But we should always remember that a noble line of Puritan prelates continued to protect and encourage Puritanism as much as possible.

The issue was joined at first with reference to ceremonies. It became a battle over the Book of Common Prayer. The Puritans did not object to a Book of Common Prayer. As all the Reformed Churches of the Continent had Prayer-Books, so Knox introduced

the Book of Common Order into Scotland, and it was used in Scotland until the adoption of the Westminster Directory, and has never been set aside by an official act of the Church.* The English Puritans desired to *purge* the Book of Common Prayer, established in England. There were indeed several revisions of the Prayer-Book in the battle of Puritanism and Prelacy, in accordance with the changing fortunes of the parties. The ceremonies objected to in the Book of Common Prayer were the *Romish ceremonies:* the priestly garments, the kneeling at the altar in receiving the sacrament, the cross in baptism, the bowing at the name of Jesus, etc. The reason of objection was that the ceremonies carried with them the Popish doctrine of the priesthood, the sacrifice of the Mass, and vulgar superstitions—they encouraged secret Papists in the Church of England. There can be no doubt that this was their original design. Every effort was put forth to conciliate the priesthood of Rome and induce them to conform to the Church of England. The Puritans, as sincere Reformers, protested against this compromise with Rome, and were certainly the real Protestant party. The Prelates were more tolerant with the Papists than they were with the Puritans.

John Knox applied the Puritan principle to all the forms of worship, maintaining: "That in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the Sacraments, the rule prescribed in Holy Scripture is to be observed without addition or diminution, and that the Church has no right to devise religious ceremonies and impose significations upon them."†

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* See Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1859, Vol. II., pp. 65 *seq.*

† Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, London, 1875, p. 6; Knox, *Works*, I., pp. 192 *seq.*

In accordance with this principle he carried out "a root and branch Reformation" in Scotland.

John Knox was also engaged in the reformation of England. At Berwick on the Tweed he first introduced the Helvetic custom of sitting at the Lord's table.* He was also chiefly influential in the addition to the Prayer-Book of Edward VI., of "The Declaration on Kneeling."†

Hooper, in his sermon before the king in 1550, endeavored to purify the ceremony of baptism.‡

The Priestly garments greatly disturbed the English Church, but in Scotland "every surplice and every stole seems to have been burned up in the Reformation bonfires."§ The Scottish General Assembly in 1566 tried to aid their Puritan brethren in England in these matters and addressed a letter "to their brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist" in their behalf, but in vain.‖

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* Lorimer, *John Knox*, pp. 31 *seq.*

† It was introduced into the Prayer-Book to satisfy the scruples of the Puritans. It was removed in the reign of Elizabeth in order to please the Romanists. It was again inserted at the Restoration in order to induce the Puritans to conform (Lorimer, *John Knox*, pp. 119 *seq.*, and pp. 134 *seq.*). The views of Beza and the Genevan divines on this subject are given in a letter to the English Puritans, dated October 24, 1547. "Kneeling at the very receipt of the sacrament, hath in it a show of Godly and Christian reverence, and might therefore in times past be used with profit, yet for all that, because out of this fountain the detestable use of bread-worship did follow, and doth in these days stick in many minds, it seemeth to us that it was justly abolished out from the congregation." (*The Judgment of Foraign Divines*, London, 1660, p. 15.)

‡ He said that the matter and element of the sacrament "is pure water; whatever is added—oil, salt, cross, lights, and such other—be inventions of men, and better it were they were abolished than kept in the church, for they obscure the simplicity and perfectness of Christ our Saviour's institution."

§ Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, Edin. 1859, I., p. 485.

‖ They say: "If surplice, corner-cap, and tippet have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, what hath the preacher of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish Beast? Our brethren that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do

It is difficult in the 19th century to appreciate the seriousness of the struggle and the necessity imposed upon the Puritans to resist the ceremonies. They felt that they compromised themselves with Roman errors or opened the doors for a secret, subtle Roman propagandism which would eventually destroy the Reformation. Therefore hundreds of Puritans in 1634

"were persecuted, censured, suspended, excommunicated or deprived for praying for the conversion of the Queen [a R. C.], for not bowing at the name of Jesus or towards the high altar, or not consenting to the placing of the communion-table altar-wise and railing it in, or for delivering the sacrament to such as did not kneel, or for preaching against Arminianism or Popery, or for refusing to read the Book of Sports. And were many of them forced to leave the kingdom and go into Holland, New England or Florida." (Morice MSS., fol. 7. Dr. Williams' Library, London.)

Those whom Old England refused were welcomed to New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Carolina. They established Puritanism as the religious force of North America. They planted a nation which is now, and always has been, and always will be, a Puritan nation.

The Puritan fathers were wise and true in their contentions against the ceremonies. These ceremonies carried with them, by association, grievous errors, and compromised Protestantism. They encouraged secret Papists; but the Puritan movement was forced by the circumstances of the case to extremes which involved the radical section of it and their descendants in sad mistakes. These entered into a crusade against other things that were not only harmless but to edification.

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neither damne yours, or molest you that use such vain trifles: If you shall do the like to them we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with extremity, which is used against those godly, and our beloved brethren."

The Puritan contest against Popish ceremonies was advanced by the radical party into a Puritanical opposition to all liturgies, organs, instruments of music, hymns other than psalms, pictures, statues, architecture, and art of any kind, in worship. These were serious blunders which compromised the genuine Puritan party, and crippled and retarded the growth of Puritanism among the educated and cultured classes.

The genuine Puritanism was opposed to *Popish ceremonies*. It was only the narrower section of Puritanism which was opposed to prayer-books. This opposition was stronger in Scotland than in England among Presbyterians because of historical circumstances. The opposition to liturgies in England was rather on the part of Independents than Presbyterians. The opposition in Scotland was among the Protesters, who were more in accord with the English Commonwealth party, and who introduced into Scotland a considerable number of innovations in matters of worship.*

The Westminster Assembly found it impracticable to revise the Book of Common Prayer so as to satisfy both nations and all parties. They preferred to make a new Confession of Faith after spending a considerable time in trying to revise the XXXIX Articles. Revision of historical documents is more difficult than a construction of new documents. It was still more difficult to construct a Prayer-Book for Scotland and England and

* The Presbyterians in Scotland separated in 1651 into two parties, the Resolutioners and the Protesters. The Resolutioners carried through the General Assembly a series of resolutions in form of "healing measures," to unite the Scottish nation to the king against Cromwell. The Protesters insisted that only the strictest Covenanters should hold positions of trust and influence or be taken into fellowship. The Protesters entered into close relations with the Commonwealth party of England, and adopted not a few Puritanical notions from the English sectaries. The Resolutioners co-operated with the Presbyterian party in England and Ireland. (Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, II., pp. 168 *seq.*)

Ireland than a Confession of Faith. A *Directory for the Public Worship of God* was the only thing that was practicable. This was successfully constructed, but with the definite understanding that it was not to be *imposed* in every particular, and that it did not determine between the use of free or written prayer. These matters were left to the several churches as the sphere in which to exercise Christian liberty.*

The Westminster divines were unable under the circumstances to prescribe in the minute details of worship, and determined to leave the question of free prayer or

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* This is so admirably explained by Dr. Mitchell, that we quote him at length: "The tolerant purpose of those who framed it is fully expressed in their letter to the Scottish General Assembly of 1645, in which they say: 'We have not advised any imposition which might make it unlawful to vary from it in anything; yet we hope all our reverend brethren in this kingdom and in yours also, will so far value and reverence that which upon so long debate aud serious deliberation hath been agreed upon in the Assembly, ... that it shall not be the less regarded and observed. And albeit we have not expressed in the Directory every minute particular which is or might be either laid aside or retained among us as comely and useful in practice; yet we think that none will be so tenacious of old customs not expressly forbidden, or so averse to our good examples although new, in matters of lesser consequence, as to insist upon their liberty of retaining the one or refusing the other because not specified in the Directory.' The materials for prayer and exhortation provided in the Directory were not meant by its framers, as they explain in the preface, to do more than supply help and furniture, of which the officiating minister might avail himself. It was said, indeed, by Mr. Marshall, when he first brought in the part relating to the ordinary services for the Lord's day, that it did 'not only set down the heads of things, but so largely as that with the altering of here and there a word, a man may mould it into a prayer.' But when reminded of this some months afterwards, when he brought in the first draught of the Preface, bearing a statement that this was not intended, he said: 'Some such expression did fall from my mouth; I said as one reason why it was so large, here he might have such furniture as that with a little help he may do it. But there is no contradiction to say that we do not intend it. It is not a direct prohibition.' (MS. Minutes, vol. ii., p. 286 b.) In other words, those who conducted the ordinary services were not directly prohibited from turning the materials furnished to them into an unvarying form of prayer, keeping as near to the words of the Directory as they could; but at the same time they were not only not restricted or counselled to do so, but they were counselled and encouraged to do something more, according to their ability and opportunities." (Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, pp. 232, 233.)

written prayer to be determined by the circumstances of the countries and the times. They had been bitten so sharply by prescribed forms and imposed ceremonies, that they were indisposed to prescribe them or impose them upon others.*

No parts of worship have been more sharply debated in Presbyterian circles than psalmody and instrumental music. With regard to the latter, it is held in many quarters that it is against the principles of Presbyterianism to use instrumental music in worship. Prof. W. D. Killen, of Belfast, has recently shown in an admirable tract† that this is a mistake. The banishment of musical instruments from the worship of God's house was the result of a radical movement in Scotland and Ireland. The Westminster divines are not responsible for it. This and other such matters they left to be determined in accordance with the Puritan principles of liberty and toleration of difference in non-essentials. It might easily be shown that it was the radical party among the Puritans which disgraced the great reforming movement by the destruction of images and pictures and the architecture of churches. But Puritanism as a whole has been compromised by the narrower party. It has still the task of relieving itself from the burdens in-

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* Those who in later times sought to prescribe *against* the use of written prayers and to impose upon others their view of the exclusion of certain things from worship, went in the teeth of the views of the Westminster divines. It is a strange inconsistency on the part of some parties in our day to object to written prayers, which were left by the Westminster divines an open question, and yet change, without hesitation, the succession of parts of worship in the Directory, which order the Westminster divines regarded as very important to worship. It is really more important that the order of topics and succession of parts should be followed in all of our churches, than that these topics should be delivered from written pages, printed pages, or the scheme should be committed to memory and its outlines filled up *extempore*.

† *The Westminster Divines on the Use of Instrumental Music in the Worship of God.* Belfast, 1883.

tolerance and radicalism have put upon it. It should return to the genuine principles of the original Puritanism, and carry out the broader policy of the Westminster divines.

In recent times much of the fault has been retrieved in Great Britain and America, but still more needs to be done. Here is the weakness of the great Puritan bodies of our day. There is nothing in the principle of Puritanism that should prevent any worship of God in forms of Christian art, whether music or painting or sculpture or architecture, provided these are mere forms to give the most beautiful or orderly or grand expression to sincere worship and to common prayer. Puritanism is the foe to all *formalism* in worship, to all *insincerity*, to all *error;* but the experience of two centuries has shown that even in the simple forms of Puritanism there may be *formalism* and *insincerity* and *error*, as well as in the elaborate ritual of Anglican, Roman, or Greek Christianity. Puritanism will ever be opposed to *prescribed* forms and *imposed* ceremonies; it demands liberty of worship, but that liberty finds its best expression where the intellectual, moral, and æsthetic faculties combine to give to the religious energies forms of truth, beauty, and excellence.

The Puritans emphasized preaching rather than the sacraments and public prayer.* The vicars who could

* "They *hold*, that the highest and supreme office and authority of the pastor, is to preach the gospel solemnly and publicly to the congregation, by interpreting the written word of God, and applying the same by exhortation and reproof unto them. They hold, that this was the greatest work that Christ and his apostles did; and that whosoever is thought worthy and fit to exercise this authority, cannot be thought unfit and unworthy to exercise any other spiritual or ecclesiastical authority whatsoever. They hold, that the pastor or minister of the Word is not to teach any doctrine unto the church, grounded upon his own judgment or opinion, or upon the judgment or opinion of any or all the men in the world; but only that truth that he is able to demonstrate and prove evidently, and apparently by the Word of God soundly interpreted." (Wm. Bradshaw, *English Puritanism*, 1604, reprinted in *Several Treatises of Worship and Ceremonies*. London, 1660; p. 41.)

not preach, but who merely read the service and the printed homilies, were called, in the graphic language of ancient prophesying, "dumb dogs." The Puritans gave their strength to expository preaching and to exhortation in their meetings for prophesying. This preaching of the gospel had a powerful effect upon the people. It became a stronghold of Puritanism. The Prelates of the Anglo-Roman cast put forth every effort to suppress it, but there were always pious Puritan Prelates to encourage it. When the preachers were silenced in the churches, pious laymen established lectureships, and the work of exposition went on with greater freedom and redoubled energy. The prophesying in public was prevented, but it was conducted in secret and became a more powerful means of grace. By persecution the Puritans were constrained to be great preachers, and they enjoyed the gift and learned the art of free prayer. Such a band of preaching and praying ministers as gathered in the Westminster Assembly the world had never seen before. The preaching of the gospel and the prophesying or prayer-meeting have been two leading features in all Puritan regions. These have been only partially appropriated by the Church of England and her daughters. The Nonconforming Churches of England, the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, and the Puritan Churches of America have maintained their pre-eminence in this respect. The gift of prayer has been bestowed in marvellous richness and efficacy upon these Churches.

But the Puritan fathers, who were forced to emigration and to separation, were also urged by circumstances to a position which they would not otherwise have taken. There is a liturgical tendency in many Puritan Churches which is really a reaction to the position of the earlier Puritanism, which aimed at a Protestant, Puritan Service Book, with the freedom of extempore prayer; a liturgy

which should be a help and guide, and not a master or fetter.

VI.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND PRELACY.

The Puritan battle reached its height in the struggle over the government of the church. The real Puritans were not opposed to episcopacy, as such, if the episcopacy could be reduced to New Testament dimensions of a presiding presbyter. They were opposed to a prelacy which presumed to govern the church without regard to the presbyters, the church, and the people.*

Hooper, the leading English Puritan of his time, accepted a bishopric and remained a Puritan in his views of church government. His example has been followed by a multitude of Puritan bishops of the Church of England until the present day. John Knox consented to the employment of bishops who should be subject to the General Assembly, and the *First Book of Discipline*

* Calvin has been repeatedly charged with being the author of all the quarrels in British Christianity. Benedict Pictet, the Swiss divine, defends him in a letter to Dr. Nicholls, 1708:

"If Mr. Calvin had entertained any prejudices against the episcopal order, or if he had had any thoughts of propagating the polity of the Genevan church among other countrys, or if he had thought that that would best conduce to keep up good order in the church, how comes it that in that long letter which he wrote to the Duke of Somerset concerning the Reformation of the Church of England, he does not speak one word against the dignity of Bishops? For then he had a very fair occasion of breaking his mind upon this head, and deserving well of the church. How comes it to pass that when he wrote to A. Bp. Cranmer he gives him all the honorable titles which are paid to that character? Nay, be pleased to hear what he says in his book of the necessity of a Reformation in the Church, *Talem nobis*, etc. Let them give us such an Hierarchy in which Bishops may be so advanced that they may not refuse to be subject to Christ and may depend upon him as their only head and refer themselves to him and so cultivate a brotherly fellowship among themselves, that they be not bound together with any other knott than that of the Gospel truth; then we shall confess them to deserve ye heaviest curse who shall not reverence it; and pay a willing obedience to it. And writing to his friend, Mr. Farell, he observes that there ought to be among Christians such a hatred of schism, that they must, upon all occasions, to the utmost of their power, avoid it." (S. P. G., *Letter Book*.)

provides ten superintendents for the Church of Scotland.* The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at the Reformation became the representative body of the Scottish nation, in which all the notables, civil and ecclesiastical, were gathered to share in the government and discipline of the Church. It was the subserviency of the leading bishops to the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and the intrigues of the nobles; their imperious claims to authority over the ministry; and their determination to constrain the people to ceremonies and ordinances without the consent of the presbyters, and against the conscientious scruples of the Puritan nation, which brought about their downfall.

The Puritan plan for reforming the government and discipline of the church was stated by Thomas Cartwright, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, in 1570:

"(1) That the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished. (2) That the offices of the lawful ministers of the Church, viz., bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolical institution: bishops to preach the word of God, and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor. (3) That the government of the Church ought not to be intrusted to bishop's chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own ministers and presbyters. (4) That ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a particular congregation. (5) That no man ought to solicit, or to stand as a candidate for the ministry. (6) That ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and

* It, however, limits their powers: "These men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would; but they must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make long residence in any place till their kirkes be planted and provided of ministers, or at the least, of readers,"—and "If the superintendent be found negligent in any of the chiefe points of his office, and specially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the Word, and visitation of the kirkes; or if he be convicted of such crimes which in common members are damned, he must be deposed without respect of his person or office."

fairly chosen by the people." (Brook, *Memoir of Thomas Cartwright*, London, 1845; p. 69.)

The Prelatical party deprived Cartwright of his professorship December 11, 1570, and of his fellowship at Trinity College in September, 1571. He went to Geneva and conferred with Beza and other chiefs of the Reformed churches, and was confirmed by them in his Presbyterianism. He returned to England in November, 1572, to engage in severer struggles with Whitgift and the Prelatical party.* But at the close of 1574 he was obliged to flee to the continent to escape arrest. He remained abroad until 1585, when he returned to England under the protection of the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh,† but was immediately

* *An Admonition to Parliament for the Reformation of Church Discipline* had been issued by John Field and Thomas Wilcocks, for which they were cast into prison. Cartwright espoused their cause, and issued *The Second Admonition, with an Humble Petition to both Houses of Parliament for Relief against Subscription*, 1572. Whitgift replied in *An Answere to a Certen Libell, intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, 1572. Cartwright rejoined in *A Replye to an Answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte againste the Admonition to the Parliament*, 1573. Cartwright contended that the government and discipline of the church should be reformed according to the Scriptures. The discussion embraced the entire field of Puritanism: the choice of ministers, the offices of the Christian Church, clerical habits, bishops, archbishops, the authority of princes in matters ecclesiastical, confirmation, and other the like questions. Whitgift replied in *A Defense of the Ecclesiasticall Regiment in Englande defaced by T. C. in his Replie againste D. Whitgifte*, 1574, and in *The Defense of the Answere to the Admonition against the Replye of T. C.*, 1574, pp. 812, folio.

† During his sojourn abroad he carried on the controversy respecting the government of the church. In 1574 he prepared a preface to a Latin work of Walter Travers, and translated the work itself under the title: *A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out off the Word off God and off the Declininge off the Churche off England from the same.* (2d edition, Geneva, 1580.) In 1575 he issued the *Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright agaynst Maister Doctor Whitgifte's second Aunswer touching the Churche Discipline*, and in 1587 *The Rest of the second Replie.* In 1576 he aided the Puritans of the isles of Jersey and Guernsey in settling the discipline of the church. This discipline was published in 1642 under the title, *The Orders for Ecclesiasticall Discipline according to that which hath been practised since the Reformation of the Church in his Majesties Dominions by the ancient ministers, elders, and deacons of the isles of Garnsey, Gersey, Spark, and Alderny.*

arrested and cast into prison. His powerful friends, however, soon secured his release.* The Puritans in England now made rapid progress in the Presbyterian organization, so far as it was possible within the national Church of England. As early as 1572 a Conference or Presbytery had been constituted at Wandsworth, near London, where John Field was pastor. Similar Conferences were secretly formed in different parts of England. A Book of Discipline was prepared by Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright and submitted to a Synod in London in 1584. It was revised and adopted, and by 1590 had been subscribed to by as many as 500 ministers in many counties of England.†

This Presbyterian organization was accomplished by secret gatherings through a series of years. When at last the prelates learned of it they were greatly alarmed, and caused the arrest of Cartwright and other leaders and put forth every effort to destroy the "Holy Discipline."

The contest between the Prelates and the Puritans was complicated by the Brownists and other sectaries.

Thomas Cartwright was compelled to contend against the Prelatical impositions, on the one hand, and the Brownist Separatists on the other. August 30, 1590, he wrote a letter from Warwick to Mrs. Stubbes, his sister-in-law, "to persuade her from Brownism," in which he says:

"Howbeit our Saviour by his callinge not being able to remedy these evills, he chose rather to ioyne himself unto the company of most notorious wicked men, then that he would separate him-

* Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopædia*, art. *Thomas Cartwright*.

† Thomas McCrie, *Annals of English Presbytery*, London, 1872, p. 106. This Book of Discipline was published in London in 1644. It will be found in Appendix I. The Presbytery is sometimes called a *Classis*, but in Travers' *Ful and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline*, and in *Cartwright's Sacred Discipline* it is called a *Conference*, and in the *Orders for Ecclesiastical Discipline*, of the isles of Guernsey, etc., it is called a *Colloque*.

self from the holy things and in them from God whose they are. And seinge that by beinge of the wicked unwillingly I take noe harme, and am greatly hurte by separacion from the holy things of God there is no cause why I should lose the fruite of the one for the presence of thother. And consider whether by this meanes, you, whose glory is to throwe out of the church, are not yourselves throwne out and after a sort excommunicated from the holy things of God by every particuler man, who either in deede or in your opinion beinge onmeete to communicate, is either not so judged by your church, or if he be, yett is in favour or feare supported by it." (Harl. MSS. 7581, British Museum. Published in the *Presbyterian Review*, VI., p. 109.)

But, notwithstanding his opposition to Brownism and Separation, and his faithful efforts to reform the Church of England from within, in accordance with law, he was charged by his unscrupulous foes with all the excesses of the radical party. He was summoned before the High Commission and the Star Chamber, and imprisoned until 1592, when, with broken health, he was released through the intercession of powerful friends, on the promise of quiet and peaceable behavior.

Andrew Melville led the battle against Prelacy in Scotland. In 1578 the General Assembly adopted the *Second Book of Discipline*. In 1580 the General Assembly resolved:

"Forsuameikle as the office of ane bischope, as it is now usit, and commonlie taken within this realme, hes no sure warrand, auctoritie, or good ground, out of the Scripture of God, but is brought in by the folie and corruptione, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God; The haill Assemblie of the Kirk, in ane voyce, efter libertie give to all men to reasone in the matter, nane opposing himself in defending the said pretended office—Finds and declares the said pretended office, usit and termit as is above said, unlawful in the self, as haveing naither foundament, ground, nor warrant, within the Word of God." (Alex. Peterkin, *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1839, p. 194.)

In the same year John Craig drew up the *National Covenant*, which was signed by the king and his nobles, the ministers and the entire nation. They covenanted to renounce Popery and support the Protestant religion. Melville carried the Reformation in Scotland a stage further.* The Church was constructed in a thorough Presbyterian system rising from the Presbytery through the Provincial Synod to the General Assembly, and it looked forward to an œcumenical Assembly.†

But in 1584 King James and his nobles restored episcopacy; a servile Parliament passed the "*Black Acts*," and put the whole government of the Church in the hands of the king; and the Presbyterian leaders were forced into exile. But they returned in 1585, and a compromise was made in 1586, when the General Assembly consented to a modified episcopacy. The bishops were to be responsible to the General Assembly, and act according to the advice of the Synods and Presbyteries.‡

The conflict between the Puritans and Prelatists continued to increase in bitterness. Dr. Bancroft, Feb. 9, 1588, claimed divine right for Prelacy, and soon after charged the Scottish Presbyterians with "Genevating," and the English Puritans with "Scottizing" in their discipline. This excited national animosity. In 1592 the bishops were again overthrown in Scotland, and the national Church was re-established on a Presbyterian basis.

In 1603 James of Scotland, by the death of Queen Elizabeth, became king of England. The English Puritans expected to find a friend in a Scottish king, but

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* "Knox held episcopacy to be lawful, but not convenient; an allowable form of government, but not the purest or the best. Melville held episcopacy to be unlawful—opposed to Scripture—allowable in no circumstances." (Cunningham, *Church Hist. Scotland*, I., p. 439.)

† Thomas McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, Edinburgh, 1819, I., pp. 169 *seq.*

‡ Peterkin, in *l. c.*, p. 294.

were sorely disappointed. They presented to the king, on his way to London, a petition signed by nearly a thousand ministers (called the Millenary petition), but with little effect. In 1604 a conference was held at Hampton Court between the Puritans and the Prelates in the presence of the king; Dr. Reynolds, of Cambridge, being the chief representative of the Puritans, and Bishop Bancroft of the Prelates. The king went over to the party of the prerogative upon the theory, "no bishop, no king"; and the Puritans were dismissed from his presence with the feeling that their cause was more desperate than ever.

The leading Scottish ministers were invited to London, and there bullied and insulted by the king and his ecclesiastics; and at last imprisoned by the arbitrary monarch, who took delight in the humiliation of his countrymen.* Andrew Melville was released from prison to accept a professorship at Sedan, France, where he soon died. Many of the Scottish and English Puritans fled from the kingdom. Prelacy again triumphed over Presbytery in Scotland. The Presbyterian heroes, Cartwright and Melville, had fallen in the struggle; King James was master in church and state, and the churches of Great Britain were governed on the theory that "the bishops must rule the ministers, and the king both, in things indifferent and not repugnant to the Word of God."†

The persecution of the Puritans in England resulted in the firm establishment of Puritanism in Ireland. This was the only bright spot in the British isles during these troublous times. A noble body of Puritan prelates and ministers were in charge of the Irish Protestant

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* McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, II., pp. 237 *seq.*

† Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, II., p. 32. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1851, Vol. III., p. 241.

Church. In 1594 Walter Travers, the associate of Thomas Cartwright, was invited to Dublin by his friend, Archbishop Loftus, and was appointed provost of the new Trinity College. Here he became the teacher of Ussher, and trained the young Protestants of Ireland in Presbyterianism. To Ireland the persecuted Puritans of England and Scotland fled in large numbers, and were protected and encouraged, as far as possible, by the Puritan prelates.*

British Presbyterians, at the close of the sixteenth century, were in extreme misery in Scotland and England, and were not without troubles even in Ireland; but they were being prepared by the passive endurance of wrong for the severer struggle which awaited them under Charles II., when their fortitude and perseverance were to be rewarded with the divine blessing and abundant success.

We have traced the rise of Presbyterianism in Europe, and found it to be the result of the development of the Christianity of Jesus Christ, as that Christianity came in conflict with human errors in the successive periods of history. Presbyterianism is built upon all the previous constructions of Christianity. It is Christian, Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, and Puritan. It comprehends all these characteristics, and rises upon them to the distinctive traits of Presbyterianism.

* "Provided they were removed out of England and Scotland, where they so frequently opposed his arbitrary measures, James cared little for their existence and influence in this remote and turbulent country. These exiles, in conjunction with the Scottish clergy who had accompanied their countrymen in the late plantation of Ulster, and had been promoted to bishopricks and other ecclesiastical dignities, gave that tone to the religious sentiments of the kingdom by which it was distinguished from the sister country." (Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, I., p. 89.)

CHAPTER II.

THE STRUGGLE OF PRESBYTERIANISM FOR SUPREMACY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

AFTER the death of Archbishop Bancroft, in 1610, the Puritans enjoyed a brief season of rest. George Abbot was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and he quietly but steadily reversed the policy of the prelates who had preceded him. But the Puritan prelate soon lost influence with the king, and the most he could do was to use his high office to restrain persecution and protect the persecuted Puritans. During this time the Irish Puritans were active. The Irish Parliament summoned a convocation of the clergy, in 1615, to secure a doctrinal standard for Ireland. The Puritans were unwilling to adopt the XXXIX Articles. They preferred a national confession for Ireland which should stand on an equal footing with the national confessions of England and Scotland, inasmuch as both England and Scotland were represented in the ministry and Protestant population of Ireland. They also desired a confession which would better express the Puritan faith. What the Hampton Court conference failed in accomplishing, owing to the opposition of the English prelates and the tyranny of King James, was now happily accomplished by the church of Ireland. James Ussher, the pupil of Walter Travers, was at this time professor of divinity in Trinity College, Dublin. He was selected to draft the articles. They were admirably framed, and gave an excellent exposition of Puritan doctrine. They state the Puritan doctrine of the Scriptures and the Sabbath; imply the

Presbyterian doctrine of the Church; and avoid the obnoxious ceremonies. These articles were adopted as the Articles of Religion of the Church of Ireland, and subsequently became the basis of the Westminster Confession.*

In 1620 Ussher was made bishop of Meath, and in 1623 archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland. Under his administration Puritanism prospered; English Presbyterians settled in Dublin and the adjacent parts; and Scotch Presbyterians established themselves in Ulster, among the latter the distinguished Welsh, Stewart, Dunbar, and Livingston, who laid the foundations of Presbyterianism in the North of Ireland.† They were persecuted by Bishop Echlin, but protected by Archbishop Ussher.

King James was entirely under the influence of favorites, who led him into the most arbitrary measures in church and state. He took delight in humiliating his Scottish subjects. In 1617 he went to Edinburgh with an array of English prelates, and endeavored to constrain Presbyterian Scotland to accept the hated ceremonies. In 1618 a General Assembly was influenced to adopt the Five Articles of Perth, enforcing kneeling at the Lord's supper, private administration of the sacraments, confirmation by bishops, and the observance of the festivals of the church. These greatly irritated the Presbyterian nation. On his return to England in May, 1618,

* A. F. Mitchell, *Lecture on the Westminster Confession*, Edinburgh, 1866; *Presbyterian Review*, N. Y., I., pp. 153 *seq.*

† "Though like the English Puritans in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, they were comprehended within the pale of the established Episcopal Church, enjoying its endowments and sharing its dignities, yet notwithstanding this singular position which they occupied, they introduced and maintained the several peculiarities, both of discipline and worship, by which the Scottish church was distinguished. To them, therefore, the grateful regards of their descendants in this country have, from an early period, been directed as the founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland." (Reid, I., p. 123.)

the king directed Bishop Moreton to draw up the *Book of Sports*, in opposition to the Puritan Sabbath. It was designed to be read in the parish churches throughout England, but Archbishop Abbot interposed, firmly resisted it, and prevented its going any further than Lancastershire and some other districts where Papists abounded.

I.—WILLIAM LAUD, DICTATOR OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

When Charles I. ascended the throne of his fathers in 1625 the Presbyterians made an earnest effort for relief. The Scottish ministers petitioned for the repeal of the Articles of Perth, but in vain. The monarch was entirely under the influence of evil counsellors. William Laud became a great favorite of the king, and was rapidly promoted to the highest positions in the church. In 1628 he was appointed bishop of London, and his ambition took lofty flights. He undertook to change the doctrines and worship, the government and the life of the three national Churches of the British isles.

Archbishop Abbot was suspended for resisting the new Arminianism; the jurisdiction of the primate was put in the hands of a commission of five bishops, of whom Laud was chief; and so the entire control of ecclesiastical affairs passed into his hands, and Puritanism was put under the ban.

The English parliaments were summoned in 1625, 1626, and 1629. But, when it was found that they were determined to redress the civil and ecclesiastical wrongs of the nation, they were speedily dissolved, and absolutism prevailed in church and state. Thus Presbyterianism was identified with liberty and constitutional government. The people and their leaders assumed a stubborn resistance; they were gathering up their energies and

abiding their time for a supreme effort to overthrow prelacy and tyranny, which had also become identical terms. Charles I. was urged to greater stretches of the royal prerogative by his evil counsellors, who subsequently reaped the due harvest of all their crimes. He played the part of a bigot and a despot, and trampled upon the conscience, the rights, and the liberties of his people. For eleven years he tried to get on without a Parliament, and thereby lost the confidence of all classes of his subjects. He undermined his own throne, and at last brought his own stubborn neck to the executioner's block.

Archbishop Laud was chiefly responsible for the evil course in ecclesiastical affairs.* He was not content with a reconstruction of the Church of England in accordance with his Anglo-Catholic notions, and the extermination of Puritanism with its Calvinism and Presbyterianism; but he also obtruded his obnoxious theories and practices upon the Scottish nation and

* He was narrow-minded, unscrupulous, haughty; by no means free from irascibility and vindictiveness, blindly ritualistic, and cruelly despotic. For years he was the king's most confidential adviser in State as well as in Church affairs. He sought and found able and unscrupulous coadjutors in the work of "harrying" Puritans out of the Church, and constitutionalists out of the State; setting up, in lieu of their ideal of regulated freedom, the system to which he himself gave the name of THOROUGH—thorough absolutism in the State, thorough despotism in the Church. He virtually proscribed and stigmatized as Puritanism the old Augustinian doctrines, which his predecessor not only tolerated but approved, and for which the House of Commons so resolutely contended. He used the powers of his high office and of the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission with a rigor and savagery unknown before, condemning to lifelong imprisonment, or to cruel mutilations, or ruinous fines, men whose offences did not justify such extreme proceedings, and meting out to grave divines, practised lawyers, physicians, and scholars, punishments till then reserved for the lowest class of felons and sowers of sedition.

The indignities perpetrated on Leighton, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick are well known, and the liberation of these sufferers from their long imprisonment, and the exhibition of their mutilated faces, raised to its height the popular indignation against Laud and his accomplices. (A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, London, 1883, pp. 83 *seq.*)

an independent Reformed Church; and he intruded with his domination upon the jurisdiction of the primate of the Irish Church, the learned and devout Puritan, Ussher. He was a usurper in three nations, without ecclesiastical or civil right, and in defiance of his own Anglo-Catholic theories of church government. No pope ever lorded it over the Church with such haughty indifference to the sufferings of the ministry and people, and with such despotic determination to remodel the constitution of three national Churches to accord with his own ideal.

The infamous Wentworth (afterwards the earl of Strafford) was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in January, 1632. He undertook to carry out the views of Laud, who, in 1633, owing to the death of Abbot, succeeded to the primacy of the English Church. Wentworth used as his tool his private chaplain, John Bramhall, whom he made bishop of Derry in 1634, in place of the learned and godly Puritan, Downham. A convocation of the Irish clergy was held under his orders in 1634, and they were browbeaten into adopting the XXXIX Articles, and a book of canons, selected from the English canons. These were at once put in operation against the Presbyterians. Archbishop Ussher was ignored. He timidly submitted to the invasion of his prerogatives. He was a splendid scholar, but he was not of the heroic type, and in the critical hour was found wanting in the courage which was indispensable to his own honor and to the maintenance of the principles which were dear to him.

In 1633 Laud advanced in the war against Puritanism from the battle against Calvinism to a struggle against the Puritan Sabbath. He persuaded King Charles I. to revive the *Book of Sports*, and put it in operation.

The ethical element is one of the most characteristic elements of Puritanism. The Puritans were not content

with the passive attitude of simple faith; they assumed the active attitude of working out their own salvation rooted in faith. Human life was to them a battle with indwelling sin and with external evil. They went into the conflict equipped with Scripture armor and weapons, and were assured of victory. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War* are the culmination of a large number of writings on this subject. They are the most popular because they are in this respect the best exposition of the ethical side of Puritanism.

The ethical battle of Puritanism was fought about the Sabbath as a centre. This was forced by the *Book of Sports*. This book had been issued by King James in 1618 "to encourage recreations and sports on the Lord's day." It discriminated between harmless and lawful sports, in which all good churchmen might engage, but from which Papists and Puritans were excluded,—and unlawful sports. It seems incredible that Christian prelates should have endorsed such a book, and encouraged the violation of the Lord's day in such a way as this. The Puritan pastors preferred the law of their heavenly King to the book of their earthly monarch. Rather than transgress the 4th commandment they gave up their livings and suffered fine and imprisonment. The Sabbath is the citadel of Puritan ethics. It is due to Puritanism alone that Great Britain and America enjoy the rest and peace and holy worship of the Lord's day.

The forced struggle on this and other points gave the Puritan piety an Old Testament cast. The Puritans were impelled by circumstances to the brink of legalism. They did not sufficiently apprehend the different stages in the development of Biblical ethics. They imposed upon themselves and others not a few rigorous rules and irksome restraints which have made Puritanism to many a mark of bondage and Pharisaism. But such mistakes

are common to all great religious movements.* They were committed, however, rather by their feebler descendants than by the Puritan fathers. It is essential that we should distinguish between Puritan and Puritanical, between the original and genuine Puritan holiness and its later stereotyped and mechanical Puritanical caricature.

The Puritans were too much influenced by the Old Testament in proportion to the New Testament. They did not sufficiently apprehend the different stages in divine doctrine and morals; but they were faithful to the Word of God as they understood it. And even here they wrought out the doctrine of the Covenants. They introduced it as the structural principle of their theology. They gave the impulse to the Covenant theology of Holland which became the chief means of resistance to the scholasticism of the 17th century, and the rallying point for a revival of theology in modern times.† Indeed, the Puritans could not be scholastics. The essential principle of Puritanism was the foe of all scholasticism and ecclesiasticism. The Puritans sought, above all, union and communion with God by a living faith and a growing faith. They desired above all things to be conformed to God's will; and so they resisted conforming to the prelates' will. Their ideal was a holy life in communion with God. This was the noble aspiration of Puritanism

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* Isaac Taylor, in his *Wesley and Methodism* (New York, 1852, p. 81), makes the following significant reflections: "But thus it is, and ever has been, that those who are sent by Heaven to bring about great and necessary movements, which, however, are, after a time, either to subside or to fall into a larger orbit, are left to the short-sightedness of their own minds in fastening upon their work some appendage (perhaps unobserved) which, after a cycle of revolutions, must secure the accomplishment of Heaven's own purpose—the stopping of that movement. Religious singularities are Heaven's brand imprinted by the unknowing hand of man upon whatever is destined to last its season, and to disappear."

† Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 377, and Briggs, *Biblical Study*, p. 342.

which has made British and American society the most ethical and upright, the most manly and godly society the world has yet seen. The reality and power of godliness have been displayed in Great Britain and her colonies more than in any other lands under heaven. In them religion has been a reality and a power for practical aggressive work in every department of religious and moral reform, and for the extension of the gospel throughout the world.

Archbishop Laud next advanced to a struggle with Scotland in the field of Public Worship. A new liturgy was prepared to displace the *Book of Common Order* of the Scottish Church. A book of canons was composed to be used as an instrument of torture to the Scottish ministry. It was proposed to change the national reformed religion into a new Anglo-Catholic religion, devised in the fertile brain of the English Cyprian. The Scottish nation declined to abandon the Reformed religion. The presumption of the English primate had reached its climax. Three nations were agonizing under his insufferable tyranny.

II.—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

On the 23d of July, 1637, the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Edinburgh, and a large number of clergymen assembled in St. Giles church, Edinburgh, to introduce the new liturgy. The congregation declined to hear it, and the church became the centre of a revolution which spread like wildfire over Scotland, and ere long convulsed the British isles.

A large and influential body of twenty-four nobles, sixty-six commissioners of towns and parishes, and nearly a hundred ministers, marched in a body to the council-house, Sept. 20th, and presented petitions against the liturgy from all parts of the kingdom. But the king

ignored the wishes of the nation, and the nation was obliged to organize itself to maintain its civil and religious rights and liberties. Four committees were appointed, called Tables, representing the nobles, the gentry, the burghers, and the ministry, with a central committee. The king issued a proclamation insisting on the Book of Common Prayer, and commanding the Tables to disperse, under penalty of high treason. The Tables now resolved to proceed to extremities and unite the nation in a solemn league and covenant. This was drawn up by Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, and after revision, was adopted and submitted to the nation for signature. It was signed with wonderful enthusiasm, and with hands uplifted to heaven. It was an act of consecration on the part of the Scottish people, which, as to its essence, is one of the noblest transactions of modern times. The king was compelled to yield to the will of the nation. He himself signed the covenant of 1580, and summoned a free General Assembly. The General Assembly met November 21, 1638, in the cathedral of Glasgow. The Service Book, the Book of Canons, the Five Articles of Perth, and the Bishops were all overthrown, and Presbytery again came into power and trampled Prelacy in the dust.

The English Puritans were watching the events in Scotland with strained attention. They had suffered the extremities of persecution for conscience sake. Many of the noblest in church and state had been constrained to seek refuge in flight. Others would have gone into voluntary exile, but were detained by the authorities, who seemed to delight in their miseries. The English people were urged on to desperation.

The Scottish Covenanters forced King Charles to call a Parliament in England in order to give him the means needed to resist them. But the English Parliament was Puritan, and it entered into conflict with the royal

prerogative, and showed no disposition to aid the king against their brethren in Scotland who were battling with them for a common cause. It was therefore dissolved. The Covenanters organized a large and enthusiastic army, under the command of the veteran field-marshal Leslie. They crossed the Tweed and encamped at Newcastle. Charles I. was now obliged to summon a Parliament and consider the demands of the Puritan nation. Instead of aiding the king against the Scots, the English Parliament combined with the Scots and forced the king to sign a treaty, August 10, 1641, looking toward unity in religion and conformity of church government between the two nations in the direction of Presbyterianism.

In the meanwhile the Irish Presbyterians were not idle. The Irish Parliament, in 1641, abolished the court of High Commission, and declared its proceedings null and void. They set about redressing the grievances of the Church. The arbitrary prelates were called to account, and the ministry and people again enjoyed peace and prosperity. But it was only for a season. The rebellion of the Irish Roman Catholics burst forth, and the Protestants were compelled to unite their forces and do their utmost to put down the rebellion. The Presbyterians who had fled to Scotland returned with the Scottish armies, and the first Irish Presbytery was constituted by the chaplains of the Scottish regiments in 1642. To this Presbytery the Presbyterian people and ministers of the north of Ireland gave their adherence, and a Presbyterian church government was permanently established in Ireland. The Anglo-Catholic prelatical party had determined to reduce the British isles to conformity with their programme. The Presbyterian party were now determined to transform the British isles into a Presbyterian kingdom of God.

"A great idea was now filling the vision of Presbyterian Scotland. At first it had loomed dimly in the distance; it had gradually come nearer and nearer; and now it seemed quite within its grasp. Scotland was ambitious of bestowing upon England the blessings of Presbytery. The liberal spirit of the great Reformers, in regard to Episcopacy and Presbytery, had passed away. Anglican bishops had claimed for Episcopacy a divine right; almost every Scotch minister now believed Presbytery to have a divine right. They thought themselves bound to preach this as an article of their faith, and to propagate Presbyterianism as a part of their religion. The zeal of proselytism took hold of them, and at this period they verily believed that theirs was to be the proud distinction of bringing back prelatic England to the purity of apostolic times. Nor were their hopes altogether unfounded. A large and powerful party in England were labouring for the overthrow of the hierarchy. Many of the Puritans were known to be Presbyterians; Independency was still in its infancy; and the parliamentary leaders secured the assistance of Scotland by flattering its ambition." (Cunningham, *The Church History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1859, pp. 128 *seq.*)

It now became manifest that the reorganization of the Churches of the three nations should go on harmoniously and with a view to uniformity. The Irish rebellion, for which Charles I. was largely responsible, irritated still more his English and Scottish as well as his Irish Protestant subjects. They lost confidence in his integrity and honor, and suspected that he designed to reduce them to popery. The Scottish nation had the advantage of its historic General Assembly, which acted promptly in the establishment of the Presbyterial government of the church in place of the prelatical. But the English nation had no such precedent. They were obliged to summon an Assembly of Divines and learned laymen under the protection of Parliament, who should be free from the domination of prelates. It was many months before this scheme was perfected. In the Grand Remonstrance, December 1, 1641, it was proposed to the king that there should be

"a General Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this Island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultation to Parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom." (Masson, *Life of Milton*, II., pp. 327 *seq.*)

But it was not until June 1, 1643, that the ordinance was passed

"for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly divines, 'to meet' at Westminster, in the chappell called King Henry the Seventh's Chappell on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1643 . . . . to conferre and treat amongst themselves of such matters and things touching and concerning the liturgy, discipline and government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the said houses of Parliament, and no other, and to deliver their opinion and advices of or touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, to both or either of the said houses, from time to time, in such manner or sort as by both or either of the said houses of Parliament shall be required."

The Assembly met, in accordance with the ordinance, on Saturday, July 1, 1643, in Westminster Abbey, "with a great congregation besides"; and listened to a sermon by the prolocutor on John xiv. 18. "After sermon all the members of the Assembly present went into Henry VII.'s Chapel, where the names being called, the appearance of names that day was sixty-nine, or thereabouts." *

August 4th, the Westminster Assembly united with Parliament in addressing letters to the General Assem-

* John Lightfoot, *Journals*, in his *Collected Works*, London, 1824; xiii., p. 3.

bly of the Church of Scotland, requesting that they would,

"according to their former promise and resolution, send to the Assembly here such number of godly and learned divines as in their wisdom they think most expedient for the furtherance of the work which so much concerns the honour of God, the prosperity and peace of the two Churches of England and Scotland," assuring them "of all testimonies of respect, love, and the right hand of fellowship."

A committee of Parliament, and Stephen Marshall and Philip Nye of the Assembly, carried the letters to Scotland. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent Alexander Henderson and George Gillespie, ministers, and Lord Maitland, ruling elder,*

"to repaire unto the Assembly of Divines and others of the Kirke of England, now sitting at Westminster, to propound, consult, treat, and conclude with them . . . . in all such things as may conduce to the utter extirpation of Popery, Prelacie, Heresie, Schisme, Superstition, and Idolatrie, and for the settling of the so-much-desired union of the whole Island in one forme of church government, one confession of faith, one common catechism, and one directory for the worship of God."

They sent with their commissioners the Solemn League and Covenant. This was prepared by Henderson on the basis of the earlier covenants, and after some modification was adopted with great enthusiasm in Scotland and by the English committees. It was approved by the Westminster Assembly and the English Parliament with some slight amendments; and then on Monday, September 25th, the Westminster Assembly, with the House of Commons, took the Solemn League and Covenant in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, lifting up their

* Robert Bailie, Samuel Rutherford, and Johnston of Warriston, soon reinforced them.

hands at the conclusion of every clause, and then subsequently signing it. They solemnly swore:

"1. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavor, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and shall endeavor to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. 2. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavor the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (*i. e.*, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that Hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms."*

III.—THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

The Westminster Assembly was composed of 121 divines, carefully selected by the Lords and Commons, representing all the counties of England and Wales, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Ireland was represented by its primate Ussher and its professor of divinity at Trinity College, Dublin, Joshua Hoyle. The Lords were represented by ten nobles, and the Commons by twenty of their ablest men. England was now, for

* We give only the two most essential clauses of this Covenant. The whole is given in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, I., p. 690.

the first time, equitably represented in an ecclesiastical Assembly. England has never since been in the position to secure such another full representation of English Protestantism as the Westminster Assembly afforded. The three great parties which now divide British Protestantism were adequately represented among the learned divines named in the ordinance.

Of the defenders of Episcopacy were Archbishop Ussher, Bishops Brownrigge and Westfield, Drs. Featley, Hackett, Hammond, Holdsworth (Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge), Morley, Nicholson, Saunderson (Professor of Divinity at Oxford), Ward (Master of Sidney Sussex College), all able men, and doubtless others.* Of the Independents, the five who had returned from exile in Holland, Thos. Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Sidrach Simpson, were the chief; but others held their opinions in whole or in part. The main portion was selected, from the necessity of the case, from the great body of the ordained ministry of the Church of England, who had long been Puritans and Presbyterians. These controlled the Assembly, not without severe and long-continued struggles with the Independents; and also with the Erastians, especially John Lightfoot, Thos. Coleman, and John Selden, who were in many respects the ripest scholars in the body.

The Assembly, immediately after its organization, set to work upon the revision of the XXXIX Articles. This engaged their attention until Oct. 12, 1643,† when they received an order from Parliament:

* But only Bishop Westfield and Dr. Featley attended, for a short time—the former dying June 25, 1644, the latter being expelled in September, 1643.

† The work of revision had extended through fifteen important articles. It was never resumed. However, the labor was not fruitless. By act of Assembly and Parliament these revised articles were used as a temporary standard until the Confession of Faith could be completed. (Briggs, *Doc. Hist. West. Assembly*, *Presbyterian Review*, I., pp. 140 *seq.*)

"to forthwith confer and treat among themselves, of such discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed Churches abroad, to be settled in this Church in stead and place of the present church government by archbishops, bishops, ... which is resolved to be taken away."

The Assembly went at once to work and labored faithfully until July 4, 1645, when the draft of Church Government was sent up to Parliament.*

During these long months a serious conflict was waged between the three parties in the Assembly—the Erastians, the Independents, and the Presbyterians—and by the same parties throughout the nation. The Assembly refrained from sending up their decision for a long time, hoping for an accommodation with the Independents, but in vain. This delay was fatal to Presbyterian supremacy in England.

Outside the Assembly the leaders on both sides first united in the effort to prevent debate, and published: "*Certain considerations to dissuade men from further gathering of churches in this present juncture of time, subscribed by diverse divines of the Assembly hereafter mentioned.*" London, 1643. Among these were Twisse, Marshall, Herle, Tuckney, Palmer, on the one side; and Goodwin, Nye, Greenhill, and Burroughs, on the other. They say:

"That it is not to bee doubted, but the councells of the Assembly of Divines, and the care of the Parliament will be, not onely to reforme and set up Religion throughout the nation, but will concurre to preserve whatever shall appeare to be the rights of particular congregations, according to the Word, and to beare with such whose consciences cannot in all things conforme to

* It was entitled *The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now sitting by Ordinance of Parliament at Westminster, concerning Church Government.*

the publicke rule, so farre as the Word of God would have them borne withall."

Charles Herle reduced the difference between Presbyterians and Independents to a minimum in his "*Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches*," 1643. But the publication of the "*Apologetical Narration*," December 30, 1643, after its presentation to Parliament, brought on a fierce discussion.*

Inside the Assembly the debate was carried on in a series of papers *pro* and *con.*, which were collected and published, by order of Parliament, by Adoniram Byfield.†

When accommodation became hopeless the Presbyterians acted with sufficient promptness. The Assembly, April 19, 1644, sent up a *Directory for Ordination*,‡ and October 2d, Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly, appointed thirty-three divines for the ordination of ministers *pro tempore*.

August 19, 1645, Parliament passed an ordinance giving

"directions of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, for the electing and choosing of Ruling elders in all the Congregations and in

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* In this discussion Thomas Edwards, in his "*Antapologia*," July, 1644, and his "*Gangræna*," three parts, 1646; Dr. Bastwick, in his "*Independency not God's Ordinance*," 1645, and "*The utter Routing of the whole army of all the Independents and Sectaries*," 1646, and others on the side of Presbyterians; and Henry Burton, John Goodwin, and others, in numerous tracts and books, on the side of the Independents, took part.

† *The Reasons Presented by the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government and the Proofs of them voted by the Assembly of Divines, sitting by authority of Parliament at Westminster, together with the Answer of the Assembly of Divines to those Reasons of Dissent*, London, 1648; afterwards they were republished under the title: *The Grand Debate concerning Presbytery and Independency*, 1652.

‡ *To the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now sitting by ordinance of Parliament at Westminster, concerning the Doctrinal part of Ordination of Ministers.*

the Classical Assemblies for the cities of London and Westminster and the several counties of the kingdom, for the speedy settling of the Presbyterian Government."

This ordinance divided the Province of London into twelve classical elderships, composed of from eight to sixteen churches each.* The congregational assemblies were to meet every week and the classical assemblies every month. The Provincial Assembly was to be composed of at least two ministers and four ruling elders out of every classis. The National Assembly was to be composed of two ministers and four ruling elders from each Provincial Assembly, and to meet when summoned by Parliament. Thus a uniform principle of representation was established from the lowest to the highest court. The elders were to be double the number of the ministers, and each court received representatives from the lower court, and sent representatives to the higher court, and indeed the same number relatively, so that all of the ecclesiastical bodies were proportionately representative.

On October 20, 1645, there was passed,

"An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, together with rules and directions concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's supper in cases of ignorance and scandall, also the names of such ministers and others as are appointed triers and judges of the ability of elders in the twelve classes within the Province of London."

On November 8, Parliament passed,

"An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for giving power to all the classical Presbyteries within their respective bounds to examine, approve, and ordain ministers for severall congregations."

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* The I. Presb. was to have 16 churches; II., 15; III., 12; IV., 14; V., 12; VI., 13; VII., 9; VIII., 10; IX., 13; X., 9; XI., 8; XII., 8; or, in all, 139 congregational elderships.

March 14, 1645[6], an ordinance of the Lords and Commons was issued,

"For keeping of scandalous persons from the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the enabling of congregations for the choice of elders, and supplying of defects in former ordinances and directions of Parliament concerning Church Government."

It was herein ordained:

"that there be forthwith a choice made of elders throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales; . . . . that the classical Assemblies in each province shall assemble themselves within one month after they shall be constituted and this ordinance published; . . . . that out of every congregational eldership there shall be two elders or more, not exceeding the number of four, and one minister, sent to every classis."

This was not satisfactory to the Assembly, and on the 20th Mr. Marshall moved, "that since there were some things in that ordinance which did lie very heavy upon his conscience and the consciences of many of his brethren, that the Assembly would consider what is fit to be done in the business."

After debate a committee (Mr. Marshall chairman) was appointed to draw up a petition, which was adopted and sent up to Parliament. This was the occasion of sore trouble to the Assembly; for April 30th a committee of the House of Commons, headed by Sir John Evelyn, came to the Assembly to inform them that they had broken the privileges of Parliament in the late petition; and they delivered to the Assembly nine questions respecting the *Jus Divinum*, which they required to be answered. The Assembly at once entered on the consideration of these, and continued at work upon them until July 22d, when they were ordered by the Commons to lay aside other business and apply themselves to the Confession of Faith and Catechism.* This ques-

* Minutes, p. 558; Masson, iii., p. 426.

tion was resumed after the completion of the Confession and the Catechism, but was never finished by the Assembly. The answer had been made by the ministers of London.

In the meanwhile the Assembly took up the Directory of Public Worship. May 24, 1644, the discussion began upon this subject and continued until Dec. 27, when it was finished and sent up to the Commons. It passed the Commons March 13, 1644(5), and was ordered to be printed and observed.*

August 23, 1645, a further ordinance was passed,† ordaining:

"That if any person or persons whatsoever shall at any time or times hereafter use or cause the aforesaid Booke of Common Prayer to be used in any church, chappel, or publique place of worship, or in any private place of family worship, ... every such person . . . . shall for the first offence forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds, ... for the second offence the sum of ten pounds, and for the third offence shall suffer one whole year imprisonment without baile or mainprize. And it is further hereby ordained . . . . that the several and respective ministers of all parishes, churches, and chappels . . . . shall respectively from time to time, and at all times hereafter, ... pursue and observe the Directory for Publique Worship established by ordinance of Parliament, according to the true intent and meaning thereof."

The Westminster Assembly also agreed upon a *Confession of Faith* and a *Larger and a Shorter Catechism*, which received the sanction of the English Parliament

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* *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, together with an ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales.*

† *For the more effectual putting in execution the Directory for Public Worship in all parish churches and chappels within the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales.*

in 1648. These doctrinal symbols were framed with exceeding care, and contain the best representation of the Reformed doctrines of the Puritan and Presbyterian type. As Prof. A. F. Mitchell admirably says:

"It was meant to be as comprehensive as the accepted theology of the Reformation would at all permit, as tolerant as the times would yet bear. If its members had one idea more dominant than any other it was not, as they are sometimes still caricatured, that of setting forth with greater one-sidedness and exaggeration the doctrines of election and preterition (for they did little more as to these mysterious topics than repeat what Ussher had already formulated), but that of setting forth the whole scheme of Reformed doctrine in harmonious development, in a form of which their country should have no cause to be ashamed in presence of any of the sister churches of the Continent, and above all in a form which would conduce greatly to the fostering of Christian knowledge and Christian life." (Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 127.)

All these productions of the Westminster Assembly were sanctioned by the Scottish as well as the English Parliament. They were also adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in place of the older symbols of the Scottish Reformation. "In all this it had shown a self-sacrificing spirit. It had thrown aside its own 'Confession of Faith,' and its own 'Book of Common Order,' both the legacy of Knox, that its covenanted uniformity with England might be secured." *

IV.—THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF LONDON.

The London Presbyterian minsters had been drawing closer together during the whole time of the civil commotions. They were accustomed to meet at Sion College. They had already acted together in an informal way in the production of several important documents.†

* Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, II., pp. 154–5.

† Thus, on the first of January, 1645(6), they adopted "*A letter of the ministers of the city of London*," against *Toleration*, which was presented to the

The most important of these is the answer to the nine questions respecting the "*Jus divinum*" which the Parliament required the Westminster Assembly to answer April 30, 1646.*

This document maintains that "there is a Church Government of divine right under the New Testament," that the rule of that Government is Holy Scripture, the fountain of it Jesus Christ as mediator; that it is a spiritual power or authority derived from Jesus Christ, and exercised by church officers endowed by Him; that the several acts of this power are: public prayer and thanksgiving, singing of psalms, public ministry of the Word of God in the congregation, in reading the scriptures and singing, the catechetical propounding or expounding of the Word; the administration of the sacraments; the ordination of Presbyters with imposition of the hands of the Presbytery; the authoritative discerning and judging of doctrine according to the Word of God, admonition and public rebuke of sinners; rejecting, purging out or putting away from the communion of the Church, wicked and incorrigible persons; seasonable remitting, receiving, comforting, and authoritative confirming again in the communion of the Church, those that are penitent; taking special care for relief of the necessities and distresses of the poor and afflicted members of the Church. The end of this gov-

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Westminster Assembly, in which they contend that Independency is a schism, because, say they, (1) Independents do depart from our churches, being true churches, and so acknowledged by themselves; (2) They draw and seduce our members from our congregations; (3) They erect separate congregations under a separate and undiscovered government; (4) They refuse communion with our churches in the sacrament, etc.

* *Jus divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*; or, *the divine right of Church Government asserted and evidenced by the holy Scriptures, ... by sundry ministers of Christ within the City of London.* It was published in 1646, and then revised in a second edition in 1647.

ernment is the edifying of the Church of Christ. The receptacle of this power of church government is not the civil magistrate, as the Erastians contend, nor the *cœtus fidelium* or body of the people, as presbyterated, or unpresbyterated, as the Separatists and Independents pretend, but *Christ's own officers* which He hath created *jure divino* in His Church. These officers are (1) pastors and teachers; (2) ruling elders; (3) deacons. The power of the keys or proper ecclesiastical power is distributed among these church officers so that the deacons have the care of the poor, the ruling elders and pastors combined the power of jurisdiction, the pastors and teachers the preaching of the Word and administration of sacraments. The Presbytery is the body of ruling elders and pastors having this power of jurisdiction which may be the lesser Assemblies, consisting of the ministers and ruling elders in each single congregation, called the parochial Presbytery, or congregational eldership; and the greater Assemblies, consisting of church governors *sent* from several churches and united into one body for government of all those churches within their own bounds. These greater Assemblies are either Presbyterial or Synodal—Presbyterial, consisting of the ministers and elders of several adjacent or neighboring single congregations or parish churches, called the Presbytery or Classical Presbytery; Synodal, consisting of ministers and elders sent from Presbyterial Assemblies to consult and conclude about matters of common and great concernment to the Church within their limits; and these are either *Provincial*, embracing ministers and elders from several Presbyteries within one province; *National*, ministers and elders from several provinces within one nation; and *Œcumenical*, ministers and elders from the several nations within the whole Christian world. These are all of divine right, and there is a divine right of appeals from the lower to the higher

bodies, and of the subordination of the lower to the higher in the authoritative judging and determining of causes ecclesiastical.

The difference between Parliament and the Assembly, with regard to exclusion from the Lord's supper, and the *Jus divinum*, delayed the organization of the church, so that the first meeting of the Provincial Assembly of London took place on May 3, 1647, in the convocation house of St. Paul's church.*

There were present at the first meeting, May 3, 1647, representatives from eight out of the twelve Classes. Dr. William Gouge was chosen moderator.†

A further ordinance of Parliament was issued January 29, 1647(8), "For the speedy dividing and settling the several counties of this kingdom into distinct classical Presbyteries and congregational elderships."

On the 29th of August, 1648, "The form of Church Government to be used in the Church of England and Ire-

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* There are preserved in the library of Sion College, London, the original and apparently official minutes of the Provincial Assembly of London from May 3, 1647, until August 15, 1660. These were obtained from the library of Lazarus Seaman (one of the Westminster divines, the last Moderator of the Assembly) in 1676, and presented by Thos. Granger, September 20, 1726, to the library of Sion College. They contain (besides the minutes) the four papers adopted by the body. (1) "Vindication of the Presbyterian Government," published November 2, 1649. (2) "*Jus Divinum Minist. Evang.*—or, the Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry," November 2, 1653. (3) "An Exhortation to Catechizing," August 30, 1655. (4) An unfinished exhortation or circular letter. The title-page is, "Records of the Provincial Assembly of London begun by ordinance of Parliament, May 3, in the convocation house of Paul's, London, 1647." There is also in the Williams Library, Grafton Street, London, in the third volume of the Minutes of the Westminster Assembly, minutes of the Provincial Assembly of London from the third session of the eighth Assembly, November 27, 1650, until the thirteenth session of the sixteenth Assembly, April 24, 1655, in much briefer and more careless style than the one mentioned above.

† During the sessions of this Assembly the London ministers drew up and subscribed a vindication of themselves with regard to the strife between the army and the city, which was signed by about twenty of them and presented to a Committee of Parliament, August 2, 1647. (Neal, II., p. 447.)

land: agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines." It was ordered

"that there be forthwith a choice made of elders throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales. . . . . There shall be out of every congregational eldership two elders or more, not exceeding the number of four, and one minister, sent to every classis. . . . . That the number of the members sent from every classis shall be so proportioned as that the Provincial Assemblie may be more in number than any classical Presbyterie, and to that end there shall be at the least two ministers and foure ruling elders out of every classis. . . . . The National Assembly shall be constituted of members chosen by, and sent from, the severall Provincial Assemblies aforesaid; the number of the members from each Province to the National Assembly shall be two ministers, foure ruling elders, and five learned and godly persons from each Universitie. That the National Assembly shall meete when they shall be summoned by Parliament, to sit and continue as the Parliament shall order, and not otherwise."

On the 30th of November, 1648, Charles I. was seized by the Cromwellians; on the 6th of December the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons were expelled to the number of 140; the remnant, constituting the "Rump Parliament," resolved to try the king, and on January 1st nominated a court of 150 commissioners; the House of Lords was abolished; on the 20th of January Charles I. appeared before the court to deny its competence, and refused to plead; but he was found guilty and condemned to death, and on the 30th of January, 1648(9), was executed. Against all these illegal proceedings the London Presbyterian ministers protested.*

* On Jannury 18th they subscribed with their names "*A serious and faithful representation of the Judgments of the ministers of the gospel within the Province of London, contained in a letter from them to the Generall and his Councell of Warre, delivered to his Excellency by some of the subscribers January* 18,

May 1, 1649, the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire was constituted of three ministers and six elders from each classis.* No other Provincial Assemblies were organized in England, but several Classes were organized preparatory to Provincial Synods in other counties. The Presbyterian organization of the Church of England was now brought to a halt by the interference of Cromwell and the Independents, who had assumed the authority in Great Britain.

V.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND INDEPENDENCY.

The Westminster Assembly had accomplished its task. The Presbyterian form of government was getting into working order in England and Ireland in accordance with the Westminster model. It attained national organization only in Scotland. But the iron hand of Cromwell prevented further progress. The Presbyterians were constitutionalists. They were opposed to

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1648, published, London, January 20." (See also for the names [47] Neal, II., p. 535.) Baxter in his *Penitent Confession*, London, 1691, says that these men, who were not restored until Monk and his Presbyterian army restored them, "abhor'd the Commonwealth engagement; And so did all the ministers of my acquaintance save Independents." (p. 60.)

Again, "*An apologetical declaration of the conscientious Presbyterians of the Province of London and of many thousands of other faithful and Covenant-keeping citizens and inhabitants within the said city and suburbs thereof, wherein their firmnesse and faithfulness to their first principles and to their solemn league and Covenant is conscientiously declared; and the Covenant-breaking and apostacy of others is disclaimed and abhorred before God and the whole world.*" Jan. 24, 1648(9). This was also signed largely, but the names are not in the published paper.

Also, "*A vindication of the ministers of the Gospel in and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the Parliament as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capitall punishment, with a short exhortation to the people to keep close to their covenant engagement.*" Jan. 27, 1648(9).

* The classes had been previously organized. The Cheetam Library at Manchester contains the minutes of the first classis of Lancaster. The first meeting was held February 16, 1646(7), Mr. Heyrick moderator.

the protectorate. They strove to constrain the monarch to a constitutional government. They looked upon the execution of Charles I. with horror. They immediately recognized his son Charles II. and strove to bend him to the British constitution. The Scottish Presbyterians constrained him to take the Solemn League and Covenant and then rallied to his standard. Cromwell marched against them and defeated them, but could not separate them from the royal cause. Many of the London ministers were apprehended for conspiracy in endeavoring to raise funds for the king, and eight of them were sent to the tower. Christopher Love was tried for treason and condemned to death. Several of the parishes and upwards of fifty ministers petitioned for his life, but in vain. He was executed August 22, 1651. The English Presbyterians were greatly irritated, but they were powerless.

As the English Puritans were divided into two parties, the Presbyterians and the Independents; so the Presbyterians of Scotland separated into two factions: the Resolutioners, led by Douglas, Baillie and Dickson, and the Protesters, headed by Patrick Gillespie, James Guthrie, and Samuel Rutherford. The Resolutioners tried to heal the wounds of the nations by soothing measures which would rally all the supporters of the crown to the royal standard; the Protesters insisted that only the faithful Covenanters should be recognized. The Resolutioners gained control of the General Assembly and the Parliament of Scotland, and earnestly supported the king. The Protesters looked to the Cromwellian party for support, and introduced into Scotland the narrower and more radical type of Presbyterianism. July, 1653, the General Assembly was broken up by the soldiers of Cromwell.*

* Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, II., p. 169.

The Provincial Assemblies of London during the whole time from the eighth Assembly to the thirteenth Assembly discussed *the divine right of the Gospel ministry*,* and finally published their conclusions.

They could do nothing with Cromwell, and further progress in the Presbyterian organization of the Provinces was impracticable; but they were all the more determined to assert and explain Presbyterian principles. This important document is divided into two parts: The first contains a justification of the gospel ministry in general, the necessity of ordination thereunto by imposition of hands, and the "unlawfulnesse of private men's assuming to themselves either the office or work of the ministry, without a lawful call and ordination." The second part contains a justification of the present ministers of England, both such as were ordained during the prevalency of episcopacy, from the foul aspersions of Anti-christianism; and those who have been ordained since its abolition, from the unjust imputation of novelty; and proves that bishop and presbyter are all one in Scripture, and that ordination by presbyters is most agreeable to the Scripture pattern.

We note in the epistle to the reader the following division of parties in England at the time:

"(1). Such as are against the very office of the ministry, and that affirm, that there is no such office instituted by Christ to be perpetual in his Church. We look upon this assertion as destructive unto Christian Religion and to the souls of Christians. (2). Such as say, that it is lawful for any men that suppose themselves gifted (though neither ordained, nor approved by able men) to assume unto themselves a power to preach the Word

* November 2, 1653, the discussions were completed, the whole book passed and ordered to be published, signed by the Moderator, Assessors, and Scribes, and thanks were given to Mr. Calamy and Mr. Cranford "for their great pains on the book." It was published in the following year, under the title, *Jus Divinum ministerii evangelici*.

and administer the Sacraments. This opinion we judge to be the highway to all disorder and confusion, an inlet to errours and heresies, and a door opened for priests and Jesuites to broach their Popish and Anti-christian doctrine. (3). Such as hold, that the ministry of *England* is Antichristian, that our churches are no true churches, but synagogues of Satan, and that there is no communion to be held with us. This opinion we conceive to be not only false and uncharitable, but contradictory to Peace and Unity. (4). Such as say, that Episcopacy is an higher order of ministry above Presbytery by divine right, that Christ hath given the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction unto Bishops; and that ordination of ministers is so appropriated to them by the Gospel, that all ordinations by single Presbyters are null and void, and that sacraments by them administered are no sacraments. These assertions we look upon not only as groundlesse and unscriptural, but as cruel, and utterly overthrowing all the Protestant Reformed Churches and ministers. Now, though we hope we can truly say, that we have with all meekness and Christian moderation managed the debate with these four sorts of Adversaries, and shall be ready to exercise all offices of Christian love and affection towards them, and by requiting good for evil, labour to heap coals of fire upon their heads; yet notwithstanding such is the great distance between them and us in judgment and practice, and such is the bitternesse of their spirits in their opposition against us, that we have little hope for the present (till the Lord be pleased to work a happy change of judgment in them) of any real and hearty accord and agreement with them. (5). A fifth sort are our reverend brethren of *New* and *Old England* of the Congregational way, who hold our churches to be true churches, and our ministers true ministers, though they differ from us in some lesser things. We have been necessitated to fall upon some things, wherein they and we disagree, and have represented the reasons of our dissent. But yet we here profess, that this disagreement shall not hinder us from any Christian accord with them in affection. That we can willingly write upon our study doors that motto which Mr. Jer. Burroughes (who a little before his death did ambitiously endeavour after Union amongst brethren, as some of us can testifie) persuades all scholars unto, *opinionum varietas, et opiniantium unitas non sunt* ἀσύστατα. And that we shall be willing to entertain any sincere motion (as we have also formerly declared in our

printed vindication) that shall further a happy accommodation between us. (6). The last sort are the moderate, godly episcopal men, that hold ordination by Presbyters to be lawful and valid; that a Bishop and a Presbyter are one and the same order of ministry, that are orthodox in doctrinal truths, and yet hold, that the government of the Church by a perpetual Moderatour is most agreeable to Scripture patern. Though herein we differ from them, yet we are farre from thinking that this difference should hinder a happy union between them and us. Nay, we crave leave to profess to the world, that it will never (as we humbly conceive) be well with *England* till there be an Union endeavoured and effected between all those that are orthodox in doctrine though differing among themselves in some circumstances about Church government." *

In 1653 Richard Baxter was successful in the organization of the Association of Worcestershire, combining moderate men of all parties. This was followed by sim-

* Richard Baxter in his *Church Concord*, London, 1691, in the Preface says: "The ministers of the churches were then (as is usual) of divers opinions about Church Government; (1) Some were for our Diocesane Episcopacy as stated by the Reformation. (2) Some were for a more Reformed Episcopacy, described by Bucer, ... Usher, etc. (3) Some were for Diocesans in a higher strain, as subject to a foreign Jurisdiction . . . . the pope being *principium Unitatis*. (4) Some were for National and Classical Government by Presbyters only, without Bishops. (5) And some were for a parity of Ministers and Churches, without any superior Bishops, or Synods, or Governeurs; but to have every Congregation to have all governing power in their proper pastors. (6) And some were for each Congregation to be governed by the major vote of the people; the Pastor being but to gather and declare their vote; Among all these the 3rd sort, the Foreigners, were utterly unreconcileable; and of the 6th we had no great hopes. But with the other four we attempted such a measure of agreement as might be useful in a loose, unsettled time. . . . . The most laborious ministers took the hint, and seconded us in many counties: first and chiefly in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and then in Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Essex. . . . . But when it came to closest practice, As the Foreigners (Prelatists) and Popular *called* Brownists, kept off, so but few of the rigid Presbyterians or Independents joyned with us; (and indeed Worcestershire and the adjoining Counties had but few of either sort). But the main body of our Association were men that thought the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent, had each of them some good in which they excelled the other two parties, and each of them some mistakes; and that to select out of all three the best part, and leave the worst, was the most desirable (and ancient) Form of Government."

ilar associations in Devonshire, 1655, Westmoreland and Cumberland, 1656, Essex, 1658, and in Dublin and the province of Leinster, Ireland, Feb. 22, 1658(9), and soon after in Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, and they spread like a network over all England.

Richard Baxter, in a private letter to Thomas Gataker, in 1653, expresses his view of the evils of disunion in one of the grandest sentences in the English language:

"Alas, that not only godly Christians, but so eminent, able preachers of the gospel after such experience of the effects of division as the world scarce ever knew before, that have seen what it hath done in Scotland and felt what it hath done in England, and soe what it is threatening to the foreign Reformed churches, and have read what it hath done in all ages since Christ, should yet have so little mind of unity and no more deny themselves to attain it, nor bestir themselves more industriously in following after it. Are such fit for the everlasting peace and unity? Do they consider the sum of the 2nd table of God's commandments? Do they understand and deeply consider the article of the creed, the Catholic church and the Communion of Saints? Are they fit to say aright the first word of the Lord's prayer, which intimates that Christians should worship God as members of the universal body, and not as divided into parties, and should come upon the common interests of Christians and not upon dividing interests." (*Baxter's MSS. Letters*, Vol. III., p. 39, in Dr. Williams' Library, London; *Presbyterian Review*, V., p. 687.)

It has only gradually been learned that there are many consciences—equally sure that they are right—and that a conscience assured by God will be exacting for itself, but tolerant to others. It is nowhere said, in Scripture or reason, that the conscience of any individual or group of individuals shall be the conscience of a church, or of a nation, or of the world. The Puritan principle forbids the imposition upon any man's conscience of things which his own conscience cannot admit to be the will of God.

In the light of the better study of the Bible and of history we must admit that the contestants were alike in error. Richard Baxter and a few kindred spirits were the only consistent Puritans. None of the forms of Church government is of divine right. None of them represents the apostolic model as it is presented in the New Testament or the recently discovered "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*" Only the simple forms common to all the great religious bodies can claim Scripture authority. The government of the Church must adapt itself to the circumstances of the age, and the land and the people; and so it must assume the form that will best express the religious life of the Christian people. Hence we see a gradual assimilation in all the Puritan churches. They have largely the same offices and institutions, under different names. The Protestant churches of the Continent are drawing nearer to the Puritan churches of Great Britain and America. The Puritan element in the established Church of England is also under the influence of the same great movement which is directed by the principles of Puritanism toward that moderate Presbyterianism which alone is worthy to prevail over the world.

VI.—PRESBYTERIANISM AND EPISCOPACY.

Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, died on the 3d of September, 1658, and his son Richard took his place, and the reaction began. A new House of Commons met in January, 1658(9), which was so strongly reactionary that the council of officers of the army compelled Richard to dissolve it. In place of it, in May, the "Rump Parliament" reassembled, but even this quarrelled with the officers, and chaos was the result. Gen. Monk entered London with his army on the 3d of February, 1659(60). The Presbyterian members of the Long

Parliament, who had been expelled, returned, and at once resolved on a dissolution, and the election of a new House of Commons. On the 25th of April the new House assembled and took the Solemn League and Covenant.

Gen. Monk anticipated Parliament in making terms with Charles II., whose declaration from Breda of general pardon, religious toleration, etc., was received with such national enthusiasm that the king was at once invited to take possession of his kingdom. May 25th he landed at Dover, and entered London May 29th.

It was soon understood that Presbyterian government could no longer exist in England, but that the most that could be attained would be a combination of moderate Presbyterians with moderate Episcopalians.

The Provincial Assembly of Lancaster adjourned August 14th, until the second Tuesday of September. The Provincial Assembly of London adjourned August 15th, till the 3d of September. Neither of them met again.

The Presbyterians at once divided into two parties—the one, under the leadership of Laz. Seaman and William Jenkyn, refused to compromise Presbyterian principles; the other, under the leadership of Calamy, Reynolds, Ashe, and Manton, with most of the London ministers, sought, with Baxter and others, to compromise. These latter met at Sion College, in an informal manner, in accordance with the direction of the king, and after some three weeks' discussion, adopted an address to the king and proposals as to Church government on the basis of Ussher's "*Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient church*," * thus abandoning the Presbyterial organization as represented in the Provincial Assembly. After

* See Appendix, II., where it is given in full.

some time the bishops answered the proposals without compromise or yielding, and nothing was accomplished. The extreme party had the upper hand and proposed to use their power to destroy Presbyterianism and re-establish High Church Episcopacy. This was responded to by "A defence of our Proposals to his Majesty for agreement in Matters of Religion." Finally, on September 4th, the Lord Chancellor sent them a copy of "a declaration of his Majesty to all his loving subjects . . . . concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs." They responded to this with a petition to the king for further concessions. A conference was also held with the episcopal party, but without success; and a further paper was sent to the king with reference to alterations of the Declaration, and finally both parties appeared before the king. After a long discussion, a committee of conference was appointed, composed of Bishops Morley and Hinchman on the one side, and Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy on the other, with the Earl of Anglesey and Lord Hollis to decide in case of disagreement. An agreement was thus reached.*

Dr. Reynolds was appointed bishop. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy and to Baxter, but were refused by both of them. On the 25th of March, 1661, the king called the Conference of Savoy to revise the Prayer-Book, composed of the Anglican bishops on the one side, with alternates, and on the other Dr. Reynolds (now bishop), Ant. Tuckney, John Conant, Wm. Spurstow, John

* The Declaration was published as amended, and on November 16th the most of the London ministers signed an "*humble and grateful acknowledgment of many ministers of the gospel in and about the city of London, to his royal Majesty for his gracious concessions in his Majesty's late declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.*" Among the signers we note Thos. Case, Sam. Clark, Jno. Rawlinson, Jo. Sheffield, Thos. Gouge, W. Whitaker, Tho. Jacomb, Joh. Jackson, Wm. Bates, and Math. Poole. It was printed, with his Majesty's approbation, at the close of 1660.

Wallis, Thos. Manton, Edm. Calamy, Arthur Jackson, Thos. Case, Sam. Clark, and Matth. Newcommen, with alternates. Of these eleven, eight had been members of the Westminster Assembly; Wallis, one of its clerks; and Manton and Clark were London ministers.

The Conference at Savoy assembled April 13, 1661. The Presbyterians were required to bring in their exceptions and complaints against the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments; * which they did, after some time, together with a petition for peace. There was then a debate, with three on each side, which ended in the drawing up of a paper by Baxter, Bates, and Jacomb, making eight points against the Prayer-Book, with which it was sinful to comply. The debate ended July 25th, without having accomplished anything but to intensify the difference; and each party appealed to the king. The Presbyterians presented their case by Bishop Reynolds, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Baxter, but received no answer.†

Without waiting for the results of the Savoy Conference, a convocation was called; and the London ministers assembled on May 2d, at Christ's church, to choose clerks. Many of the Presbyterians had already been ejected from their charges, and many others would not attend. Nevertheless the Presbyterians prevailed by three votes, and chose Dr. Calamy and Mr. Baxter as their clerks, but this action was nullified by the Bishop of London. On the 7th of May the London ministers assembled at Sion College to choose a president and assistants for the year, but the Prelatists prevailed

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* See Baxter, II., p. 305, and Neal, III., p. 86. See also *An account of all the proceedings of the Commissioners of both Persuasions appointed by his sacred majesty, according to Letters patent, for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer, etc.* London, 1661.

† Neal, III., p. 91.

and gained possession of Sion College, and kept it afterwards.*

On the 22d of May, by order of the new Parliament, entirely in the interest of the bishops, the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt in the street by the hands of a common hangman.†

The Presbyterians were depressed. The bishops grew more intolerant, and the Savoy Conference proved fruitless. The convocation which had assembled by order of the king, November 20th, began to review the Book of Common Prayer, and continued at it until December 20th, when sundry modifications were made, but not in the line to satisfy or remove Presbyterian objections. These were approved by the king and both houses, March 15th, 1661(2). May 19th, the Act of Uniformity was passed: "enacting that after August 24, 1662 (St. Bartholomew's day), no one should be a minister of the Church of England, or should administer the sacrament, who had not by that time, whatever his previous ordination or calling, received due Episcopal ordination," also that "all clergymen of every rank, etc., should before that time subscribe a formula embracing: (1) The non-resistance or passive obedience oath; (2) An oath of conformity to the Liturgy; and (3) An oath renouncing the Covenant." This could not be done by the Presbyterians without a seeming sacrifice of principle. Accordingly on Sunday, August 24, 1662, more than two thousand ministers were ejected from their charges, or one-fifth of the entire body of the Church of England; and the nation was divided into two parties, which have continued ever since, the Conformists and Nonconformists.‡

* Baxter, I., p. 334.

† Baxter, I., p. 334.

‡ Richard Baxter and his associates, with sad and weary hearts, submitted to this harsh law, many of them conforming to the established church by attendance

Of the four-fifths who conformed, were a large number of moderate Presbyterians, like Bishop Reynolds, John Wallis, and Francis Roberts; a still larger number of weaker men, who were convinced of their errors by the force of circumstances; the Latitudinarians generally; and the whole class of Cambridge men, or new Platonists, such as Benjamin Whichcote, Ralph Cudworth, and Henry More, who were rapidly increasing among the more learned young men of Presbyterian families.* These carried on the Puritan conflict within the Church of England, and subsequently produced Methodism and the low church, or evangelical party, and the broad church, or comprehensive party, continuing the ancient struggle until the present day. King Charles subsequently endeavored to secure an Act of Toleration, to include the Roman Catholics. On December 26th he made a "*Declaration of a New Home Policy*," to this effect;† but Parliament refused to sanction it, and in-

upon its worship, and discouraging the organization of separating churches. Toward the close of his life, in the preface to his *Penitent Confession*, London, 1691, he says: "O how little would it have cost your Church-men in 1660 and 1661 to have prevented the calamitous and dangerous Divisions of this Land, and our common dangers thereby, and the hurt that many hundred thousands souls have received by it? And how little would it cost them *yet to prevent the continuance* of it?"

* Baxter, I., pp. 390 *seq.* This is more fully explained by Baxter in the preface to his *Church Concord*, thus: "The most of our ministers were young men bred at the Universities during the Wars, and engaged in no faction, nor studied much in such kind of controversies; but of solid judgment and zealous preachers, and eminently prudent, pious and peaceable: And with them there joyned many that had conformed, and thought both the Common Prayer and the Directory, Episcopacy and Presbytery tolerable: And these in 1660 did conform; but most of the rest were rejected and silenced. Though of near ten thousand that the Parliament left in possession, there were but two thousand cast out by the Prelates, we strongly conjectured beforehand who those would be." Again in his *Penitent Confession*, p. 64, he says that of the ten thousand that conformed, eight thousand had conformed to the Directory of the Presbyterian Parliament, and on p. 79 he intimates that this is a low estimate considering the number of chapels, curacies, and chaplains, in addition to the near ten thousand parish churches.

† Masson, VI., p. 242.

stead of it soon after issued the "*Conventicles Act*," May 17, 1664, and "*The Five Miles Act*," October 31, 1665. Thus Presbyterianism, as an organized ecclesiastical body, ceased in England at the Restoration. The Presbyterian churches that remained among the Nonconformists were only such as local churches, or congregational elderships.

The Parliament of Scotland vied with the English Parliament in its hostility to Presbyterianism. In 1661 it repealed all the legislation of the past twenty years in favor of Presbytery, and re-established episcopacy. In 1662 it declared that all ministers ordained from 1649–1660 had no right to their livings, and that they must acquire their livings by recognizing the authority of their bishops. There were the same diversities among Presbyterians in Scotland as in England. Leighton accepted a bishopic, and many good Presbyterians conformed in hopes of a moderate episcopacy. But Sharp played the traitor to his brethren, and received the archbishopric of St. Andrews to enter upon a career of oppression and infamy. Three hundred Scotch ministers followed the example of their English brethren, and abandoned their livings.

A long and terrible struggle now arose between the prelatical authorities and the Presbyterian people. All Presbyterians were Covenanters. But the most radical section claimed to be the only faithful Covenanters in the midst of the general apostasy, and by their fanaticism brought all Presbyterians under suspicion and into troubles.

The great majority of the Scottish Presbyterians offered a passive resistance to prelatical authority, and were all the more difficult to conquer on that account. They adhered to the principle of a national Church, and looked forward to better times. They bowed their heads to

the oppressor as their fathers had done before them, and were faithful in suffering even unto death.

The Irish Presbyterians suffered in the same way. "In Ulster sixty-one Presbyterian ministers, being almost the entire number who were then officiating in the province, were deposed from the ministry and ejected out of their benefices by the northern prelates." * These were embraced in five Presbyteries. Only seven of the entire number conformed to the new régime.† The Parliament of Ireland followed the Parliaments of England and Scotland in compliance with the plans of the prelates and in greed for revenge.

During the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Presbyterianism was under the cross. It had been loyal to its own hurt, and it persisted in loyalty to a faithless house. But when James II. proposed to re-establish popery in his dominions, the Presbyterians of Great Britain arose as one man. They forgot all the injuries they had received from the prelates. They preferred prelacy to papacy. They were the active forces in the Revolution which compelled James II. to flee to the Continent, and which gave William and Mary the throne of Great Britain. With the accession of William and Mary in 1688, Presbyterianism was granted toleration in England and Ireland, and it received permanent embodiment in the Church of Scotland.

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* Reid, II., p. 252. † Reid, II., p. 255.

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN AMERICA.

PURITANISM first migrated to America among the adventurers of the Virginia Company. We do not know whether the first pastor of the colony of Jamestown, Robert Hunt, was a Puritan or a Prelatist; and we cannot be sure with reference to Mr. Glover. They were both graduates of Cambridge, where Puritanism was dominant, and their principles were not put to the test in Virginia. Alexander Whitaker, however, "the self-denying 'apostle of Virginia,'"* was certainly a Puritan. He was a son of the famous Puritan Professor of Divinity, Dr. William Whitaker, of Cambridge, and cousin of Dr. William Gouge, a leading member of the Westminster Assembly of divines, and the first moderator of the Provincial Assembly of London.† Whitaker organized an informal congregational Presbytery. He writes, June, 1614: "Every Sabbath day we preach in the forenoon, and catechize in the afternoon. Every Saturday, at night, I exercise in Sir Thomas Dale's house. Our church affairs be consulted on by the minister and four of the most religious men. Once every month we have a communion, and once a year a solemn fast." And he subsequently wrote: "Here neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of."‡

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* Geo. Bancroft, *History of the United States of America*, Last Revision, N. Y., 1883, I., p. 104.

† See p. 71, E. D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, Albany, 1869, p. 77.

‡ E. D. Neill, *Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy*, Philadelphia, 1877, p. 4; Bancroft, I., p. 141.

I.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE BERMUDAS.

Puritanism also established itself in the Bermudas, or Somers Islands. George Keith, a Scotchman, removed thither, in 1612, with the first governor of the island, Richard Moore, and was his chief counsellor. Soon after Lewes Hughes, minister of Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate, London, having been deposed for non-conformity by Archbishop Bancroft, was sent out by the Virginia Company.* Keith and Hughes were associated in the Council of Captain Daniel Tucker, in 1616. Keith removed to Virginia in 1617, and settled at Elizabeth City.† In this same year Lewes Hughes organized a church in the Somers Isles with four elders, and composed a liturgy for its use, which was free from the objectionable ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer.‡ Strife arose on this account, and the Governor, Captain Nathaniel Butler, interposed, granting, as a compromise, permission to use the liturgy of the isles of Guernsey and Jersey. Accordingly, in 1619, the Governor and his council gave its use the countenance of their presence.§

* He writes a letter thence, dated December 21, 1614, which was printed under the title: *A Letter sent into England from the Summer Islands, written by Mr. Lewes Hughes, preacher of God's Word there*, London, 1615.

† E. D. Neill, *Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy*, p. 7.

‡ He writes to Lord Rich, May, 1617: "The ceremonies are in no request, nor the Book of Common Prayer, I use it not at all. I have by the help of God begun a Church Government by ministers and elders. I made bold to choose four elders from the town, publickly, by lifting up of hands, and calling upon God, when the Governor was out of the town. At his return, it pleased God to move his heart to like well, and to allow of that we had done, and doth give to the elders all the grace and countenance that he can." This extract is given by Dr. E. D. Neill in *Virginia Vetusta*, Albany, 1885, pp. 186–7.

§ There is some difference of opinion with reference to this Liturgy: Whether it was the Liturgy used in these French isles in the time of Thomas Cartwright (see p. 42), or whether it was simply the French edition of the Book of Common Prayer, with certain omissions, such as were allowed to these French churches, in the time of King James. Captain John Smith, in his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, London, 1632, p. 192, says:

In 1621 Hughes returned to England and took an important part in the struggle for the overthrow of Prelacy.*

"Now amongst all these troubles, it was not the least to bring the two ministers to subscribe the Booke of Common Praier, which all the Bishops in England could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, bethought himself of the Liturgie of Garnsey and Jarse wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly embraced by them both, whereupon the Governor translated it *verbatim* out of French into English, and caused the eldest minister upon Easter day to begin the use thereof at St. Georges towne, where himself, most of the councell, officers and auditorie received the sacrament; the which forme they continued during the time of his government." J. H. Lefroy (*Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands*, London, 1879, I., p. 684) argues that this Liturgy cannot be the Puritan Liturgy, on the ground that the ministers were ministers of the Church of England, that they were pledged to remain faithful to the Church, and that the Governor at this time would not have dared "to give open countenance to nonconformity." But all the Puritans at this time were members of the Church of England. They were endeavoring to reform the national Church and purge the Book of Common Prayer. The Archbishop of Canterbury at this time was the Puritan, George Abbot, who declined to enforce conformity to the objectionable ceremonies. The Virginia Company itself was Puritan in its sympathies. The Puritans in the Somers Isles and in Virginia were free from prelatical intrusion, and could carry out Puritan principles better than their brethren in England. Lewes Hughes and Governor Butler simply anticipated the reforms of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, and had recourse to the Liturgy of the isle of Jersey as a Puritan Liturgy of recognized authority. The Governor permitted the Presbyterian organization of the church in accordance with that Liturgy. The forms of worship of that Liturgy would be in better harmony with the ecclesiastical organization. This is confirmed by the instructions sent to the Somers Islands September 4, 1639: "The Archbishop of Canterbury has been informed that a great part of their Company in general, the Governor and Council and others in special, are non-conformists. They are therefore strictly required to carry out the directions received about two years ago, that the Books of Homilies and Common Prayer be read in all their churches; that when the Holy Sacrament is received the reverent posture of kneeling be adopted, and that the ministers use the accustomed prayers and decent ceremony of signing with the cross in baptism" (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574–1660; London, 1860, p. 303). Archbishop Laud was determined to enforce conformity in the Somers Isles, as well as in England, Scotland, and Ireland. But these islands were as far on as Scotland in nonconformity to Prelacy.

* In 1640 he published: *Certaine Greevances well worthy the serious consideration of the Right Honorable and High Court of Parliament, set forth by way of Dialogue or Conference betweene a countrey gentleman, and a minister of God's Word; for the satisfying of those that doe clamour, and maliciously*

In 1623 George Stirke,* a Scotch Puritan, removed to the Somers Islands, in place of Hughes, and continued as pastor until his death in 1636 or 1637. In 1626 Patrick Copeland, another Scotch Puritan minister, removed thither, and was followed by three English Puritans: John Oxenbridge in 1635, Nathaniel White in 1638, and William Golding soon afterwards.

In the meanwhile a number of Puritan ministers and people settled in Virginia. Among these we may mention Robert Bolton, who preached at Elizabeth City and on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake; Hawte Wyatt, who subsequently returned to England and was arraigned before the Court of High Commission by Archbishop Laud; William Bennet; and the famous Independent, Henry Jacob, who died soon after his arrival.†

The Virginia Company was Puritan in its tendencies. On this account its charter was revoked by King James July 24, 1624. During its existence the Somers Islands and Virginia were under Puritan control; not indeed that form of Puritanism which became dominant in New England, and ruled Great Britain under the Lord Protector, but the Puritanism of Cartwright, Travers, Reynolds, and the English Presbyterians who desired to reform the national Church, and disliked Brownism and Separation.

The Puritans in Virginia and the Somers Isles divided into the same parties as in England. John Oxenbridge was the father of Independency in the Somers Isles. He was zealous for catechising, held love-feasts from house

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revile them that labour to have the errors of the Booke of Common Prayer reformed.

* George Stirke, his son, and a son of Nathaniel White, graduated at Harvard College in 1646; J. L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1873, I., pp. 132 *seq.*

† E. D. Neill, *Virginia Colonial Clergy*, pp. 8 *seq.*

to house, and gathered a body about him apart from the parish church.*

After his departure Nathaniel White assumed the leadership, and gathered an Independent church. White was chosen pastor, William Golding and Patrick Copeland elders, and Robert Castaven deacon. This congregation was organized as a congregational Presbytery with three elders, all ministers. And yet there were marked differences between them and the Presbyterians of the islands.†

White maintains "that a visible church is a particular congregation of saints by calling, having power of censures within themselves and exercising all the ordinances of Christ of and in themselves" (in *l. c.*, p. 6). He renounced the ordination of "Anti-Christian prelates," and refused baptism to the children of those not in church covenant with himself, on the ground that he had no call to be their pastor. The strife is described by Richard Norwood:

"The most part of those who do indeed fear God, do rather adhere to the Independent side than to the Presbyterian, being in some sort necessitated to make choice of one of them and the Independent having a more promising face than the Presbyterian though I doubt not on the reverse part of it more dan-

* He returned to England in 1641, and became Fellow of Eton College. He was ejected in 1660, and retired to Berwick on the Tweed. He was ejected from thence in August, 1662, and went to New England and became pastor in Boston, where he died in 1674. (*Morice MSS.*, G, p. 905, in Dr. Williams' Library, London; C. Mather, *Magnalia*, II., p. 597.)

† These differences are fully discussed by William Prynne in his *Fresh Discovery of some prodigious new wandring—blazing stars and Firebrands styling themselves New Lights*, London, 1645 (again 1646), especially the Letters of Richard Beake and Richard Norwood in the Appendix. Norwood was one of the earliest settlers. He went over as surveyor and schoolmaster in 1615, and had been in the islands forty years. Nathaniel White replies to Prynne in *Truths gloriously appearing from under the sad and sable cloud of oblique, or a Vindication of the Practice of the Church of Christ in the Summer Islands, &c.*, London, sine anno, (1645–6).

gerous. We have only two Independent ministers and two Presbyterian and then the reins of government being very slack or negligently handled, I doubt much what the issue will be. For these ministers on either side do much instigate the people on either side one against another which is like to produce much bitterness in the end. It is come to that pass already this year that neither the Independents come to our church assemblies nor we to theirs. I was but twice at the Independent church this twelve month. Then the Gov. and council and country (chiefly I suppose by the instigation of our Presbyterian minister) were very much offended and instantly warning me against it with much importunity as if it tended to the subversion of power here, whereupon I have forborne. But yet if our two Presbyterian ministers prevail to set themselves in place of government in that way (which they earnestly desire and endeavour to do and the Gov. seems to be for them seeing he hath taken an oath or covenant to that purpose) I see not that we shall be in any better case."*

In the narrow sphere of the Somers Islands, with 3,000 inhabitants, the same struggle was going on which at that time unhappily divided the Puritans in all parts of the British empire.

II.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

Puritanism began to colonize New England in 1620. It first moved over in the congregation of John Robinson, from Leyden, Holland, landing from the "Mayflower," December 15, 1620, and settling the Plymouth colony under the godly elder Brewster.

"Brewster and his company remained faithful to the extremely mild type of Barrowism in which Robinson had trained them, but the fact that, providentially, they had but one elder, and, for nearly or quite ten years, no pastor, thrust them upon the practical development of a church government of the people, by the

* Letter of Richard Norwood to William Prynne from Summer Isles, May 15, 1647, in the *Colonial papers*, xi. 9, Rolls office, London. See, also, Robert Baylie, *Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*, London, 1646, p. 108.

people, and for the people, to a degree beyond their philosophy, and beyond their original intent; and having so long the field entirely to themselves they were undisturbed from without in this their creed." (Henry M. Dexter, *Congregationalism*, N. Y., 1880, pp. 413–14.)

A Presbyterian colony was planned by John White, of Dorchester, who subsequently became one of the Assessors of the Westminster Assembly. This enterprise was sustained by the Presbyterian leaders in the South of England and also in London. The colony was organized and established on Massachusetts Bay. It was started under Roger Conant in 1625, but did not obtain an organization until August 6, 1629, when, a large company having arrived, a church was constituted, with Samuel Skelton, pastor, Francis Higginson, teacher, and Mr. Houghton, elder.*

Higginson, on leaving England, is said to have uttered these words:

"We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving England, Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome! But we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the church of God in England, and all the christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; But we go to practice the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America." (Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, I., p. 362; H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 414.)

This was the genuine Puritan spirit over against the spirit of Nathaniel White, who renounced the ordination of "the Antichristian prelates."

The Presbyterian colony at Salem and the Congregational colony at Plymouth associated in happy union. Daniel Neal gives the names of seventy-seven ministers

* Skelton had been ejected from a charge in Lincolnshire for nonconformity, and Higginson from a charge in Leicestershire. See Daniel Neal, *History of New England*, London, 1720, I., pp. 122 *seq.*

of the Church of England, nonconformists, who removed to New England and carried on the work of the ministry there prior to 1641, besides twenty others who did not find charges.* There were many others whose names escaped his notice.

"For eight years and seven months the Leyden Plymouth church stood alone. Ten years after the Mayflower came to her moorings inside of Gurnet Point, there were but five congregational churches on the continent, and twenty years after there were but thirty-five." (H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 413.)

There was an average of more than two ministers to a church. This was before the Puritans came into power in England and before the unhappy disputes among them arose. A considerable number of these ministers were inclined to Presbyterian views of church government. Among these we may mention Thomas Parker and James Noyes, of Newbury, Mass.; John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians; Peter Hobart, of Hingham; John Young, and Richard Denton, of Long Island.†

The persecuted Scotch Presbyterians of the North of Ireland were invited by the Governor and Council of New England to settle on the Merrimac River, where they were promised lands. Accordingly, on the 9th of September, 1736, the "Eagle's Wing" started from Carrickfergus with 140 passengers, under the charge of the eminent pastors, Robert Blair and John Livingston.‡ But the vessel was compelled to return after many disasters.§

* Neal, *History of New England*, I., p. 197.

† See Appendix III. ‡ See p. 49.

§ Patrick Adair, *True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*. Edited by W. D. Killen, Belfast, 1866, pp. 42 *seq.*; J. S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, I., pp. 192 *seq.* Samuel Rutherford writes to John Stuart in 1637: "I would not have you to think it strange that journey to New England has gotten such a dash; it indeed hath made my heart heavy; yet I know it is no dumb providence, but a speaking one

It was not time for Irish Presbyterianism to migrate to New England. It would have precipitated upon the colony the strifes which agitated Great Britain.

The Presbyterian ministers of New England made a happy accommodation with the Congregational ministers, as their brethren in England subsequently did in county Associations, under the influence of Richard Baxter.* This combination produced an ecclesiastical organization which was firmly established in New England ere the parties came to an open rupture in Old England.

"The early Congregationalism of this country was Barrowism, and not Brownism—a Congregationalized Presbyterianism or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism—which had its roots in the one system, and its branches in another; which was essentially Genevan within the local congregation, and essentially other outside of it. The forty or fifty churches which 'for the substance of it' adopted the Cambridge platform, held this general system indeed with varying degrees of strictness—from the almost Presbyterianism of Hingham and Newbury, to the large minded and large hearted Robinsonianism of the mother, Mayflower church." (Henry M. Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 463.)

According to the Cambridge platform as well as the Westminster Directory, the congregational Presbytery should exist in every local church; but it was subsequently found impracticable to realize the ideal of the three kinds of elders without lowering the standard for

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whereby our Lord speaketh his mind to you, though for the present ye do not well understand what he saith. However it be, He that sitteth upon the floods hath shown you his marvellous kindness in the great depthes. . . . . If I saw a call for New England I would follow it." (Rutherford, *Letters*. Letter 51.)

* See p. 77. Dr. Charles Hodge well says: "The Puritan Presbyterians were willing, for the sake of the great ends of peace and union, to unite with the Episcopalians in a modified form of Episcopacy; so for the same important objects, they were willing to unite with the Independents in New England, in a modified form of Congregationalism." (*Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, Philadelphia, 1851, I., p. 28.)

such elders, and so destroying it in its most essential features. It was deemed best not to preserve the mere form or skeleton of the office when the essential qualifications could not be found. It was easier to organize the churches in accordance with the ideal in the first thirty years of the colony, on account of the very large proportion of well-trained and efficient ministers and elders who were forced to leave England for nonconformity; but it subsequently became more difficult. Hence some of the churches had the three elders, some the two, and some but the one, who was obliged to assume the functions of the three.* Gradually the congregational Presbytery passed out of use in the churches of New England, and the congregations became "unpresbyterated."

* Thomas Weld gives an account of the churches of New England in 1645:

"The ordinary officers we use to call are Elders { Teaching— { Pastors / Teachers. / Ruling } / Deacons

The Pastors office properly, is to bend himself to exhortation, the Teachers office to give himself to instruction in points of doctrine, explication of Scripture, computation of error &c. The ruling elder to order the assemblies, to look to the life and conversation of the whole church, and to visit from house to house, to see how all things thrive in godlinesse, while the other give themselves to the Word and Doctrine, and all of them together to govern the house of God, and also to prepare in private all matters for church, and to survey the estates, and ripen all such as are to be admitted in the church, before they produce them in publike &c." (*Brief Narration of the Churches in New England*, p. 3, London, 1645.)

The Westminster divines, in their Humble Advice concerning Church Government, represent: "The Scripture doth hold out the name and title of a teacher, as well as the pastor . . . . who is also a minister of the Word as well as the pastor and hath power of administration of the sacraments. . . . . Yet where be several ministers in the same congregation, they may be designed to several imployments, according to the different gifts, in which each of them do most excel. . . . . And he that doth most excel in exposition of Scripture, in teaching sound doctrine, and in convincing gain-sayers, then he doth in application, and is accordingly imployed therein, may be called a teacher or doctor. . . . . Nevertheless, where is but one minister in a particular congregation, he is to perform so far as he is able, the whole work of the ministry." From this it will appear how greatly the modern Presbyterian churches as well as Congregational churches have departed from the Westminster model.

John Eliot, in a private letter to a friend in England in May, 1650, gives a survey of the churches of New England. He mentions sixty in all, of which thirteen have pastors and teachers.* Ten of these are in the Massachusetts Bay colony, and the other three in the colony of Connecticut. The churches of the Plymouth colony have only pastors. John Eliot also introduced the congregational Presbytery among his Indian converts. He was indeed the chief apostle in the work among the Indians. He was minister at Roxbury when he decided to devote himself to this work. He labored for some years in acquiring the Indian language. He began his ministry among the Indians Oct. 28, 1646, at Watertown Mill, a few miles from Cambridge. Mr. Leverich undertook the same good work in Plymouth colony, and Mr. Thomas Mayhew in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Isles. They were encouraged by the great interest taken in their work both in Old England and Scotland as well as in New England.

The charter granted to the Presbyterian colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1628 declared that to "wynn and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faythe," was in the "royall intention and the adventurers free profession, the principall ende of this plantation." This spirit of missions burst forth in a petition to Parliament, supported by a large number of the Puritan ministers of England and Scotland.†

The movement took practical shape in the organiza-

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* See Appendix IV., where this letter is printed for the first time.

† *Petition of W. C (astel) exhibited to the High Court of Parliament now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for the setting of our plantations there, which petition is approved by 70 able English divines. Also by Master Alex. Henderson and some other worthy ministers of Scotland.* London, 1641.

tion of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*, by ordinance of Parliament in 1649. It was authorized "to receive and dispose of monies in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating the gospel amongst the natives, and for the maintenance of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the natives." A general collection was appointed to be made "in and through all the countries, cities, towns, and parishes of England and Wales, for a charitable contribution to be as the foundation of so pious and great an undertaking." Nearly £12,000 were collected at this time, and the corporation was organized with Judge Steele president; and commissioners, and a treasurer were appointed in New England to superintend the work. This society directed its attention to the support of Eliot, Mayhew, and others, who engaged in the missions. Its charter was taken away at the Restoration and its funds were imperilled, but through the influence of Ashurst, its first treasurer, and Richard Baxter, a new charter was granted by Lord Chancellor Hyde, and it was reconstituted,* and the Hon. Robert Boyle was made governor of the company.†

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* "A Society for propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America; . . . . to be one body corporate and politique to have continuance forever to them and their successors, ... with power to employ goods, chattels, money, and stock of said company for the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Christ unto & amongst the heathen natives, in or near New England, and parts adjacent in America; and also for nourishing, teaching, and instructing the said heathen natives and their children, not only in the true religion and in morality, and the knowledge of the English tongue, and in other liberal arts and sciences, but for the educating and placing of them or their children in some trade, ministry or lawful calling."

† He soon after gave them £300. He also left them £100 more in his will, dated July 18, 1691, and recommended his executors that after all debts and legacies were paid, in the use of the balance: "The laying out of the greatest part of the same for the advance or propagation of the Christian Religion among Infidels." (See *Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*,

This missionary society was sustained by the entire Presbyterian strength of Great Britain.* The work among the Indians was so successful that in 1689 there were six churches of baptized Indians in New England, eighteen assemblies of catechumens, and twenty-four preachers. In these churches ruling elders of the Indians were associated with the Indian ministers. The ministers were ordained by Eliot and Cotton by the laying on of hands after fasting and prayer.†

The churches of New England, Indian as well as English, were organized in congregational Presbyteries; but the classical Presbyteries could not be organized on account of the differences between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. They were obliged to compromise, in the constituting of synods. The members assembled in synods for consultation and advice and for the determination of controversies. But their authority was spiritual and moral. They had no external power of discipline or ecclesiastical coercion. This was the best the Presbyterians of New England could do under the circumstances. It was the only feasible mode of union. It was far better than the strife which undermined the Puritan interest in Great Britain, and which brought about the restoration of prelacy. It was better far than the evil spirit of contention in the narrow theatre of the Somers Isles.

III.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW YORK.

The Puritan type of Presbyterianism colonized New York chiefly by way of New England. The earliest

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London, 1706, and especially *Sketch of the origin and the recent History of the New England Company*, London, 1884.)

* See Appendix V. for a further account of the New England Company.

† *A brief Relation of the State of New England from the beginning of that plantation to the present year. In a letter to a person of quality.* London, 1689, p. 18. See also Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, Hartford, 1853, I., p. 563.

Puritan minister in the State of New York seems to have been John Young. He settled at Southold, L. I., and organized a township church, October 21, 1640.*

The second Puritan minister was Abraham Pierson, a graduate of Cambridge in 1632, and a Yorkshire clergyman, who went to New England in 1639 and settled at Lynn, Mass., and from thence removed to Southampton, L. I., with his flock in 1641. In 1644 he removed with a portion of them to Branford, Conn., and again, in 1667, to Newark, N. J., where the first Puritan church in New Jersey was established.†

The third Puritan minister was Francis Doughty. He had probably been vicar of Sodbury, Gloucester, England, where he was silenced for nonconformity.‡ He emigrated to Taunton, Mass., in 1637. When the church was gathered in that place, Doughty maintained the Presbyterian doctrine of infant baptism, over against the Congregational, and "opposed the gathering of the church there, alleging that according to the covenant of Abraham all men's children that were of baptized parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptized, and spoke so in public, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the minister spoke to the magistrate to order him. The magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to go away from thence with his wife and children." § He and Richard Smith, a ruling elder, and their adherents, were forced to exile by the Independents. They found refuge among the Dutch. Doughty

* He had been ordained in the Church of England. He remained at Southold until his death, February 24, 1672. (E. Whitaker, *History of Southold*, 1881, p. 113.)

† J. F. Stearns, *Historical Discourses Relating to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark.* Newark, 1853, pp. 26 *seq.*

‡ E. D. Neill, *Founders of Maryland.* Albany, 1876, p. 118.

§ Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 1642, p. 40.

secured the conveyance of Mespat (near Newtown), L. I., with the view of establishing a Presbyterian colony there.* The settlement was begun in 1642, but the Indian war broke up the colony in 1643, and the minister and his flock went to Manhattan Island for shelter during the war. He became the first Presbyterian minister in the city of New York. He ministered there from 1643–48, and was supported by voluntary contributions from the Puritans and the Dutch of the city.† He preached also for a while, at Flushing, on Long Island. The Dutch ministers, Megapolensis and Drisius, report August 6, 1657, to the Classis of Amsterdam: "At Flushing they heretofore had a Presbyterian preacher who conformed to our church, but many of them became endowed with divers opinions, and it was with them *quot homines tot sententia*. They absented themselves from preaching, nor would they pay the preacher his promised stipend. The said preacher was obliged to leave the place and to repair to the English Virginias."‡ His daughter married Adrien Van der Donck, a prominent lawyer of the city. Owing to the failure of the colony, Govs. Kieft and Stuyvesant sought to recover the claim upon Mespat, but Doughty declined to restore it. He was at last glad to escape from the wrath of Stuyvesant, and fled to Maryland, where he preached to the Puritans for many years.§

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* James Riker, *Annals of Newtown*. New York, 1852, pp. 17 *seq*.

† *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I., pp. 305–6, 311, 331, 334–5, 341, 426, 553; II., 93.

‡ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III., p. 106.

§ This case was the subject of a complaint in a *Representation from New Netherland*, Hague, 1650, subscribed by Van der Donck and others, which Stuyvesant was obliged to answer to the authorities in Holland. This was reprinted by Henry C. Murphy, N. Y., 1854. (See p. 159.) "His injustice and illegal administration of justice were also apparent in a certain suit against Francis Douthey, an English minister, to whom he had given permission to form a colony, before the war, and who had made such a beginning therein, that more than eighty per-

The fourth Puritan minister was Joseph Fordham. He seems to have been at Hempstead as early as April, 1644.* He removed to Southampton in 1645 or '6, where he remained until his death in 1674.

The fifth Puritan minister was Richard Denton, graduate of Cambridge in 1623, once minister at Cooly chapel, Halifax, England. He settled at Wethersfield, Conn., in 1630, removed to Stamford, Conn., in 1641, and in 1644, with a portion of his flock, to Hempstead, L. I., where he remained till 1658, when he returned to England. Denton was a Presbyterian. He is so recognized by the Dutch pastors of New Amsterdam, who wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam in 1657: "At Heemstede, about seven Dutch miles from here, there are some Independents; also many of our persuasion and Presbyterians. They have also a Presbyterian preacher named Richard Denton, an honest, pious, and learned man. He hath in all things conformed to our church. The Independents of the place listen attentively to his preaching, but when he began to baptize the children of such parents as are not members of the church, they sometimes broke out of the church."† He also ministered to the Puritans in the metropolis in an English Puritan church. This was not a separate church building, but the band of Puritans to whom Doughty ministered. They worshipped together with the Dutch and the French, in the same church building within the fort,‡ and at different

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sons had proceeded there. The war coming on, everything ran down and came to a stand." (*Broad Advice to the United Netherland Provinces.* Antwerp, 1649. Reprinted by Henry C. Murphy, N. Y., 1854, p. 159.)

* *Broad Advice to the United Netherland Provinces*, Antwerp, 1649; Reprinted by Henry C. Murphy, N. Y., 1854, p. 151.

† *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III., p. 107.

‡ The evidence for this service of Denton in our city is derived from an ancient book of records, handed down in the author's family: "Sarah Woolsey was born in New York, August ye 3d, in ye year 1650.. Aug 7, she was baptized in

hours of service. Denton was therefore the second Presbyterian minister in New York City.*

From this time forward Puritan ministers settled in New York with greater rapidity and in greater numbers. Thomas James became pastor at Easthampton, L. I.,† in 1648, and John Moore, at Middleburgh, L. I., in 1650.‡

Brian Newton and others report to Governor Stuyvesant an interesting description of a Puritan service at Westchester, conducted by two laymen, Robert Bassett and a Mr Bayley, probably ruling elders, in 1656,§ the one reading a sermon, the other leading in prayer.

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ye English church by Mr. Denton, Capt. Newtown godfather. George Woolsey was born in New York, October 10. 1652; October 12 he was baptized in ye Dutch church. Mrs. Newtown godmother. Thomas Woolsey was born at Hemsted, April 10th 1655, and there baptized by Mr Denton. Rebecka Woolsey was born at New York Feb 13. 1659. Feb 16 she was baptized in ye Dutch church, Mr. Bridges, godfather, and her grandmother, godmother." The distinction is clearly drawn between *English* church and *Dutch* church. The connection between New York and Hempstead is manifest. The minister, Mr. Denton, baptized one child at Hempstead, another in the English church in New York. Mr. Denton did not baptize Rebecka in 1659, because he had just left Hempstead for England in 1658.

* In Denton's time there was a change of Dutch pastors in the city. John Bacherus left for Holland in 1649. John Megapolensis was on his way from Renselaerwyck to Holland, when he was stopped at New Amsterdam with a call to the vacant church. He accepted, and became intolerant to the Lutherans and the Puritans, and was rebuked for it by the West India Company. (E. T. Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, third edition, N. Y., 1879, p. 379.) The English Puritans desired services of their own, and they held together during the times of Doughty and Denton. The Dutch saw that it was good policy to satisfy them. Accordingly Samuel Drisius, pastor of the Dutch church, Austin Friars, London, who could preach in French, English, and Dutch, was called to assist Megapolensis. He began his work in 1652, and labored until his death in 1673. His presence rendered English Puritan ministers no longer necessary.

† See p. 109

‡ Riker, *History of Newtown*, pp. 40–46, represents that the first colony of Puritans from New England settled at Middleburgh, with John Moore as pastor, in 1652; but the letter of Eliot, in 1650, represents that Moore was at Hempstede at that date. It is possible that he served the Independents at Hempstede during the time of Denton, and afterwards settled at Middleburgh, where he died, September, 1657. See Appendix IV.

§ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III., p. 557.

William Leverich * settled at Huntington, L. I.. in 1658; Jonah Fordham † at Hempstead in 1660; Zechariah Walker ‡ at Jamaica in 1662. We do not know whether Fordham and Walker ministered to the Puritans in New York City. It is possible, in view of the previous connection through Doughty and Denton, and the subsequent connection through Vesey, McNish, and Makemie. Thus when the colony of New Amsterdam was surrendered to the Duke of York, September, 1664, there were within the present bounds of New York six Puritan ministers settled with their flocks. There were Puritan bands in New York City and at Rye and Westchester without pastors.

The colony was recaptured by Holland, July, 1673, and finally surrendered to the English, October, 1674. Edmund Andros became governor under James II., and at once entered upon a struggle with the Dutch and Puritan population in civil affairs, but, so far as New York is concerned, seems not to have troubled the Puritan churches. John Bishop, Puritan pastor at Stamford, writes to Increase Mather, July 10, 1677, that there had been "two churches lately gathered in the island, viz., at Jamaica and Huntington, with the governors good and free allowance, as soon as asked, and that in the way of New England Congregational churches, which liberty I doubt not but he will readily grant to any people, and able ministers if desired." § Gov. Andros reports in

* He had been ordained in the Church of England. He labored for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England in a mission to the Indians at Sandwich, Mass. He removed to Oyster Bay, L. I., in 1653, and from thence to Huntington, where he remained till 1662, when he removed to Middleburgh, where he died in 1692.

† He graduated at Harvard in 1658. He was son of Rev. Joseph Fordham, of Southampton, L. I. (Sibley, I., p. 538.)

‡ He studied at Harvard, but left in 1655 without a degree. He removed in 1668 to Woodbury, Connecticut, where he died in 1700. (Sibley, I., p. 567.)

§ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VIII., 4th Series, p. 302.

1678, "There are religions of all sorts, one Church of England, several Presbyterians and Independents, Quakers and Anabaptists of several sects, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial." * During these times, the Puritan churches lost many of their veteran pastors, but continued to increase in numbers.

Nathaniel Brewster † setted at Brookhaven and supplied Eastchester in 1665; John Prudden ‡ supplied Jamaica, 1670; Eliphalet Jones,§ Rye, Ezekiel Fogg, Eastchester, and Joshua Hobart,‖ Southhold, in 1674; John Harriman,¶ Southampton, and William Woodruff,** Jamaica, and Peter Prudden, Rye, in 1675; Thomas Denham settled at Rye, 1677, and Morgan Jones †† at Jamaica in 1678. Thus, at the time when Gov. Andros made this report eight Puritan ministers were at work in the province of New York. During the reign of James II. Puritans flourished in the Province. The only diffi-

* G. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.*, 1867, p. 325.

† He graduated at Harvard in the first class in 1642. He was the first graduate born in America. He settled at first in Norfolk, England, but was ejected in 1662, and returned to America in September, 1663.

‡ He graduated at Harvard in 1668.

§ He was son of Rev. John Jones, of Fairfield, Conn.

‖ He was son of Peter Hobart, the Presbyterian pastor at Hingham, Mass. He graduated at Harvard in 1650; he spent some time in the Barbadoes and in England, and returned to America in 1669. (Sibley, I., p. 212.)

¶ He graduated at Harvard in 1667. He settled at New Haven, Conn., from 1677–82. He removed to Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1687.

** He was ordained in England; was ejected for nonconformity in 1662. (Mather, *Magnalia*, I., p. 237). He removed from Jamaica to Lancaster, Mass.

†† Morgan Jones was the son of John Jones, of Monmouthshire, England, a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford. He settled at Llanmadock, Wales, but in 1662 was removed for nonconformity. He became chaplain of Major-General Bennet in Virginia in 1669. (Riker, in *l. c.*, p. 100.) Eastchester agreed to pay him £40 a year, provided he would come and live there December 17, 1678. (R. Bolton, *History of the County of Westchester*, N. Y., 1881, I., p. 220.) He was at Westchester, February 11, 1680, and on Staten Island in 1684, and at Eastchester in 1685.

culty was to secure a sufficient number of ministers. The great charter of 1683–4 granted liberty of conscience and protected the religious rights of the Puritans as well as the Dutch. Joseph Taylor* settled at Southampton in 1680; Jeremiah Hobart,† at Hempstead, 1683; Warham Mather,‡ at Westchester, John Woodbridge, at Rye, 1684; Dugald Simson, a Scotch Presbyterian,§ at Brookhaven, 1685; Joseph Whiting, ‖ at Southampton, 1687.

The Revolution of 1688 brought toleration to the Puritans of Great Britain, but it brought the Puritanism of America into graver perils. After the disorders of the Revolution, Gov. Sloughter, "a profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer," took charge of the Province, and the troubles of the Puritans began. In 1691 there were nine Puritan ministers at work in the Province. In 1691 the Puritans of the metropolis desired to have Edward Slade as their minister, but it is probable that Gov. Sloughter would not consent.¶ Gov. Fletcher, a "covetous and passionate man," ** took charge August, 1692, and exerted himself to overthrow the Puritanism of the Province and establish the Church of England.

* He graduated at Harvard in 1669, and preached at New Haven, Conn., for a while.

† He was son of Peter Hobart, and brother of Joshua Hobart, of Southold. He graduated from Harvard in 1650. He was pastor at Topsfield, Mass., until 1680.

‡ He graduated at Harvard in 1685, was the son of Rev. Eleazer Mather, of Northampton.

§ He was a student at the University of Glasgow, March 6, 1682, in the fourth class. He remained pastor at Brookhaven until 1691, when he returned to Scotland and was admitted to the parish of Applegarth, in Lochmaber Presbytery, September, 1694. He died in 1704. (Hugh Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*, I., p. 643.)

‖ He graduated at Harvard in 1661, and assisted his father, Samuel Whiting, pastor of Lynn, Mass., for many years.

¶ G. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.*, 1867, p. 326.

** Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, II., p. 38.

In 1693 an Act of Assembly was passed to settle ministers and provide for their support:

"In the City of New York, one; in the County of *Richmond*, One; in the County of *Westchester*, Two; one to have the care of *Westchester*, *Eastchester*, Yonkers, and the manor of Pelham; the other to have the care of *Rye*, *Mamarenock*, and *Bedford*; in *Queens* County, Two; One to have the care of *Jamaica*, and the adjacent Towns and Farms; the other to have the care of *Hampstead*, and the next adjacent Towns and Farms."

The Act only applied to four of the counties of the Province, but it provided, "That all the former agreements, made with ministers throughout this Province, shall continue and remain in their full Force and Virtue."

The Puritan towns availed themselves of the Act and chose vestrymen and church-wardens to carry it into effect. February 12, 1694, the vestrymen of New York City assembled, all members being present.

"Upon reading an Act of Gen^l. Assembly entituled an Act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York, & itt was proposed to this Board what Persuasion the person should be of by them to be called to have the Care of Souls and officiate in the office of minister of this Citty, by Majority of Votes itt is the opinion of y^e^ board that a Dissenting Minister be called to officiate and have the care of souls for this Citty as aforesaid." (G. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.*, 1867, p. 330.)

But the Governor would not give his consent to a Dissenting minister. He desired to secure the place for John Miller, chaplain of the British forces, but in vain.

Westchester tried to settle Warham Mather; Rye, John Woodbridge; and Jamaica, George Phillips, under the Act; but they were opposed by the Governor and his agents. Several towns desired ministers of their own apart from the parishes fixed in the Act. Newtown had settled John Morse * in 1692, and in 1695 petitioned the

* John Morse graduated from Harvard in 1692. He remained at Newtown until his death, Oct., 1700. (Riker, in *l. c.*, p. 131.)

Assembly for exemption from the Act. John Miller returned to England, and in 1695 gave the following representation of the religious condition of the colony of New York:*

COUNTIES.	CHURCHES.	MINISTERS.	FAMILIES.
New York,	Chapel in the fort, Dutch Calvinists, Dutch Lutherans, French, Jews' Synagogue, Haarlem,	Dr. Selinus, Dr. Perot, Saul Brown, Dr. Selinus,	90. 450. 30. 200. 20. 25. English 40, Dissenters.
Richmond,	A Meeting House,	Dr. Bonrepos,	English 40 Dutch 44 French 36
Kings,	Flatbush, Utrecht, Brookland,	Dr. Varick died August, 1694, and another sent for May 27, 1695.	300 or 400, chiefly Dutch.
Queens,	Jamaica, Hampsted, Newtown } Meeting Houses,	Mr. Phillips, Mr. Vesey, Mr. Mot, } Without any orders.	300 or 400 English, most Dissenters, and some Dutch.
Suffolk,	Eight or nine Meeting Houses; almost one at every town.	Seven ministers, Dissenters, Presbyterian, or Independent. One lately gone to Scotland.	500 or 600 English, and Dissenters for the most part.
West Chester	A Meeting House at West Chester.	A young man coming to settle there without any orders.	200 or 300 English and Dissenters; few Dutch.
Orange,			20 English and Dutch.
Dutchess,			30 English and Dutch.
Ulster.	Dutch Calvinist at Kingstone, for five or six towns.	A minister to come, his books brought; but he missed his passage.	300, Dutch mostly; some English and French.
Albany,	Dutch Calvinist, Dutch Lutheran, Scanecthade, Kinderhoeck,	Dr. Dellius. A Dutch minister sent for.	400 or 500 Dutch, all Calvinists, except 12 or 14 Lutherans.

* *A Description of the Province and City of New York*, 1695. A new edition, with notes, by J. G. Shea, N. Y., 1862, p. 37.

IV.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

The Puritans of Virginia were favored by the government of the Virginia Company; but after the governors of Virginia were appointed by the crown, the eyes of Archbishop Laud were directed upon the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony. There was no religious persecution, however, until Sir William Berkeley assumed the government in 1642. The minister of Upper Norfolk, or Nansemond county, retired from the parish in 1641, and the people through Richard Bennett, Daniel Gookin, John Hill, and others, applied by letter to the New England ministers for pastors for the three parishes into which the county had been divided. Philip Bennett carried the petition to New England in 1642.* The letters were presented and openly read at Boston on Lecture-day. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed, and it was determined to send John Knowles, of Watertown, and William Thompson, of Braintree, to Virginia. They began their voyage October 7, 1642, armed with letters of recommendation from Governor Winthrop to Governor Berkeley. They were joined at New Haven by Thomas James.† But the Governor was not friendly to Puritanism, least of all to New England Puritanism. He had been instructed to enforce the ceremonies of the Church of England; and now on the eve of their abandonment in Great Britain, he required conformity to them in Virginia. Accordingly the New England ministers were compelled to return after a brief ministry.‡ Berkeley was instigated by his chaplain, Thomas Harri-

* E. D. Neill, *Virginia Colonial Clergy*, p. 13.

† He subsequently settled at Easthampton, Long Island, N. Y. (See p. 103.)

‡ *History of New England from the English Planting in* 1628 *untill the yeare* 1652, London, 1654, p. 227; Daniel Neal, *History of New England*, I., p. 200; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, Book IV., chap. iii.

son. After the retirement of the New England ministers, a terrible Indian war broke out, and the colonists were reduced to sad extremities. The better nature of Harrison now asserted itself, and he became a pious man and a Puritan.* The Governor was not pleased with the change, and soon after dismissed him from his service. Harrison then devoted himself to the Puritans of Nansemond; but in 1648 was forced to retire to Boston. From thence he went to England and complained to the Government of the ill-treatment of the Puritans in Virginia. The Council of State, which had become Puritan, in 1649 ordered the Governor of Virginia to reinstate him.† But he remained in England, and soon after went as chaplain to Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and preached in Dublin, exercising an important influence upon the growth of Puritanism there.‡

The flock left by Harrison removed to Maryland in 1649, under the leadership of their ruling elder, William Durand. They were invited by the Governor, Captain William Stone, with the promise of toleration; and they settled in Anne Rundell county and the adjacent Charles county.§

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* Harrison was born in Yorkshire, near Hull; was taken to Virginia by his parents, when a child; was brought up to be a clergyman of the Church of England; was appointed chaplain to Governor Berkeley, and at first distinguished himself for strict conformity.

† See Appendix VI. for a copy of this order.

‡ E. D. Neill, *Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy*, p. 15; Urwick, *Independency in Dublin of the Olden Time*, Dublin, 1862, p. 19.

§ In the *History of New England from the English Planting in* 1628 *untill the yeare* 1652, p. 227, it is said that "he and his people were compelled to remove many miles up into the country where they now remain." William Durand was subsequently made Secretary of the Commission and took an important part in the colony of Maryland. Leonard Strong (*Babylons Fall in Maryland*, 1655) gives an account of the removal: "In the year 1649 many, both of the congregated church, and other well affected people in Virginia, being debarred from the free exercise of religion, under the government of Sir Wm. Barkely, removed themselves, families and estates into the province of Maryland,

Francis Doughty, the Presbyterian minister who had fled from New York,* sought refuge in the colony of Maryland, where his brother-in-law, Captain William Stone, was governor. He ministered in Maryland and Virginia until his death.† He became the apostle of

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being thereunto invited by Capt. Wm. Stone, then Governor for Lord Baltimore, with promise of liberty in religion, and priviledge of English subjects" (p. 1). He also mentions "Providence, the chief place of the residence of the most of the commissioners, and people that were forced out of Virginia by Sir Wm. Barkely for conscience sake" (p. 7). John Langford (*A Just and cleare refutation of a false and scandalous pamphlet, entitled Babylons fall in Maryland*, &c., London, 1655) confirms this: "Capt. Stone (who is well known to be a zealous and well affected Protestant) being Gov. of Maryland under the Lord Baltimore, did receive and protect in Maryland these people and their families mentioned by Mr. Strong, when they were distressed in Virginia, among whom it is to be noted that Mr. Richard Bennet (afterwards Gov. of Virginia) was one" (p. 3). There was a Commission sent from England in 1651 to reduce Virginia to the obedience of the Parliament. Maryland was included in the Commission, but afterwards struck out on the ground that "Capt. Stone was generally known to have been always zealously affected to the Parliament and that diverse of the Parliaments friends were by the Lord Baltimore's especial directions received into Maryland and well treated there, when they were forced to leave Virginia for their good affections to the Parliament" (p. 6). Webster (*History of the Presbyterian Church in America from its origin until the year* 1760, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 75) relies upon Bancroft for his statement that the Puritans driven from Nansemond retired to North Carolina; and that Durant's neck in Perquimans county perpetuates the name of the godly elder of that orthodox congregation; but Bancroft (*History of the United States*, Boston, 1874, 24th ed., Vol. II., p. 134) speaks of the neck of land given to George Durant by the chief of the Yeopim Indians in 1662, and referring to Winthrop, II., 334, for the Mr. Durand of Nansemond, elder of a Puritan very orthodox church in that county, and banished from Virginia in 1648 by Sir Wm. Berkeley, simply asks the question, "Were the exile and the colonist in any way connected?" The evidence that we have presented answers Bancroft's question in the negative.

* See p. 101.

† He was at Patuxent on Sunday, October 12, 1659, at a dinner given to the Dutch commissioners at the house of Secretary Calvert. He preached in Setlingbourne Parish in Virginia, and was complained of to the Governor for refusing to allow John Catlett and Humphrey Boote "to communicate in the blessed ordinance of the Lord's supper"; and was charged with being a "nonconformist." (See *Documentary History of New York*, II., p. 93; O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, II., p. 551; E. D. Neill, *Maryland in the Beginning*, p. 43, and his *Virginia Colonial Clergy*, pp. 16–17.) Doughty's daughter, widow of Adrien Van der Donck, married Hugh O'Neal, of Maryland.

Presbyterianism in America. He preached here and there to little flocks, which were subsequently gathered into the Presbyterian Church, when it was organized in Presbyteries and Synods. Driven from one place by intolerance and persecution, he fled to another. He carried on his master's work in spite of difficulties of every kind. It is probable that he ministered to the Puritans who had been exiled from Virginia by the intolerance of Governor Berkeley.

The work of Doughty in Maryland was carried on by Matthew Hill.* Through the influence of Richard Baxter he removed to Charles county, Maryland; from thence he writes a letter to Richard Baxter, dated April 13, 1669, in which he says: "Divine Providence hath cast my lot amongst a loving and a willing people and we enjoy a public opportunity with a great deal of freedom. That which, as I hope, will make my work the more successful, is, the people are not at all found of the liturgy or ceremonies." He thinks that two or three itinerant preachers would be sustained by the people, and urges that they should be sent over. He also says: "We have many also of the reformed religion who have a long while lived as sheep without a shepherd, though last year brought in a young man from Ireland who hath already had good success in his work." . . . . "We have room for more ministers, though their encouragement as I judge cannot be altogether as great as ours who are already settled; because we are where the people and the plantations are the thickest." †

* Hill was born in York, England, educat d at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and ordained by the ministers of York June 23, 1652, to the charge of Helaugh, a little town about six miles from York. A copy of his certificate of ordination is preserved. We give it in the Appendix VII. He soon after removed to Thrusk, in Yorkshire, whence he was ejected for nonconformity in 1662. He obtained a chaplaincy for a while in Surrey, but became very much reduced in health and circumstances.

† See Appendix VIII., where the letter is given in full.

Matthew Hill labored in this region for some years; at least until 1676.* Calamy tells us

"That new troubles and difficulties arose afterwards, which very much disappointed his hopes and expectations, so that it may be said as truly of him, as of any one of modern times, that it was thro' many tribulations that he enter'd into the kingdom of God. His whole life was indeed a comment upon Prov. xvi. 9, 33. Not being allowed to serve God according to his conscience in his native country, he was forced into the remotest parts, where he laid his bones in a strange land, but with the same hope of an happy resurrection unto eternal life, as if the same spot of land that brought him forth had also entombed him."†

To Francis Doughty and Matthew Hill, long forgotten worthies, the Presbyterian Church in the Middle States is indebted for its earliest planting. They were the pioneers and martyrs in its ministry, and their sufferings and toils were the seed of the Church.

The Irish minister who was laboring in Maryland in 1668 may have been one of those who were driven into exile at the time of the persecution in Ireland on account of "the Blood Plot," which continued from 1663–1668.‡

Charles Nicholet, one of the Puritan ministers ejected on St. Bartholomew's day, was a contemporary of Hill in

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* John Higginson writes to Increase Mather, Aug. 24, 1674, that he had been warned against Charles Nicholet by "Mr. Hill and Mr. Sally in Virginia" (*Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Series, VIII., p. 269). This Mr. Sally is Richard Salwey who received from the colony 260 lbs. of tobacco in 1676 on account of services to the State. At the same time Matthew Hill received 250 lbs., and Col. Ninian Beal 2,850 lbs. (W. H. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 1666–1676, Baltimore, pp. 552 *seq.*)

† Calamy, *Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration in* 1660. London, 1713, 2d edition, II., p. 833.

‡ Patrick Adair, *True narrative of the rise and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (1623-1670), *with an introduction and notes by W. D. Killen*, Belfast, 1866, pp. 271 *seq.*; Reid, *Presbyterian Church of Ireland*, II., p. 383.

Maryland. April 16, 1669, he was charged by William Calvert with disrespect, in his sermon to the Lower House. He was compelled to apologize and pay a fine of forty shillings. He excused himself on the ground that "he was desired by some of the members to stir up the Lower House to do their duty." He removed to New England in 1672, and settled at Salem, Massachusetts.*

The troubles of Matthew Hill were doubtless occasioned by the inroads of the Quakers upon his congregation. George Fox and William Edmundson, chief apostles of the Quakers, arrived on the Patuxent in 1672, and made many converts.†

William Durand was ruling elder among the Puritans during the times of Doughty and Hill. He was succeeded by Col. Ninian Beal. Col. Beal was a contemporary of Matthew Hill, and lived to see the establishment of the first American Presbytery. He is probably the "ancient comely man," "an elder amongst the Presbyterians," who entertained the Quaker Thomas Wilson in 1691.‡ He was the nucleus of Presbyterianism on the Patuxent during the last quarter of the 17th century.

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*W. H. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 1666–1676, pp. 159–163. Daniel Neal, *History of New England*, London, 1730, II., p. 338. The pastor at Salem, John Higginson, was opposed to him on account of letters received from Hill and Salley, and because of certain supposed errors in doctrine. The people, however, insisted on having him as an associate to Higginson. But the difficulties continued until they resulted in the removal of Nicholet. He preached his farewell sermon April, 1676, and sailed for England with recommendations to the churches of London and elsewhere. (*Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Series, VIII., p. 271.)

†E. D. Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, p. 144.

‡Ninian Beal is mentioned in the Act of the Assembly of Maryland in connection with Matthew Hill, May 16, 1676. He died in 1710. Thomas Wilson says: "As we were travelling, met with two men, one of whom being an ancient comely man, kindly invited us to his house, where we staid two nights and had a meeting, though he was an elder amongst the Presbyterians. He also lent us his boat to go over Potomack river." (*Friends Library*, Vol. II., Philadelphia, 1838, p. 326.)

During the troublous times from 1670–1680 a considerable number of families removed from the North of Ireland to the Barbadoes, Maryland, and Virginia. The Presbytery of Laggan, in Ireland, seems to have been deeply interested in these emigrants. April 28, 1678, they received an application for a minister for the Barbadoes, and December 29, 1680, for a minister for Maryland.*

But efforts in this direction by the Presbytery of Laggan were suddenly cut short by the outbreak of a violent persecution which has left its traces in the Minute Book of the Presbytery.† The last meeting was an extraordinary meeting, with William Traill moderator. It seems that a special fast was resolved upon; Traill and four other ministers of the Presbytery held it; they were arrested by the arbitrary government, examined by the justice of the peace at Raphoe, summoned to the privy council in Dublin, remitted to the assizes at Lifford, where they were fined and imprisoned from August 11, 1681, to April 20, 1682. After his release William Traill went to Maryland and remained for some years, until

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* The minutes of this Presbytery, preserved in the McGee College, Londonderry, Ireland, contain the following records: April 28, 1678, "Mr. William Dennistoun came before the meeting presenting the business of the planting of a godlie minister in Barbadoes according to Capt. Arch. Johnston's desire, signified by letters to some of the members of the meeting, and the meeting was well pleased with the motion and were willing to entertain it." They appointed Mr. Craighead to correspond with Mr. Johnston for further information. Dec. 29, 1680, "Collonell Stevens from Maryland beside Virginia, his desire of a godly minister is presented to us, the meeting will consider it seriously and do what they can in it. Mr. John Hoart is to write to Mr. Keys about this and Mr. Robert Rule to the meetings of Route and Tyrone and Mr. William Traill to the meetings of Down and Antrim." February 2, 1680(1) it was reported: "Letters were written (according to appointment) about the Maryland business. The meetings of Tyrone and Downe answer that the matter is not yet ripe and they desire further information about the case and encouragements &c. Meeting can do no more in it till we get further information about this matter."

† There is a blank from July 31, 1681, to December 30, 1690.

after the revolution in 1688, when he returned and became minister of Borthwick, near Edinburgh, September 17, 1690. It has not yet been determined where he ministered in Maryland. It is likely that he went to the eastern shore of Maryland, whence Col. Stevens wrote to his Presbytery for a minister.*

Francis Makemie removed to America in 1683.† It seems probable that he went first to Maryland, where William Traill, the most influential member of his Presbytery, was at work. He did not remain there, but seems to have designed to settle on the Ashley River, South Carolina, whence a Puritan minister, Thomas Barrett, was about to return to Boston. He started on his journey thither by sea, but on his way preached at Lynnhaven, on the Elizabeth River. He sailed, May, 1684, from North Carolina for Ashley River, but was driven by contrary winds and compelled again to seek refuge on the Elizabeth River, where he remained for several months, preaching to the bereaved congregation, who had lost their Irish minister in August of the previous year.‡ Makemie did not settle permanently for some years, but preached as an itinerant, here and there, in

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* See Hugh Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*, I., p. 267, and John Small, *Indian Primer, by John Eliot*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. xlv. This William Traill was son of Robert Traill minister of Edinburgh. He was baptized September 28, 1640, studied at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated June 30, 1658. He was ordained pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Lifford, in the Presbytery of Laggan, Ireland, in 1672. He appears on the minutes of the Presbytery as clerk, and seems to have been the most efficient member of the body. He remained at Borthwick until his death, May 3, 1714. He presented to the Library of the University of Edinburgh the only copy of John Eliot's *Covenanting Catechism* now known to be in existence, which he brought with him from America two years previously.

† See Appendix IX. for an account of the early life and training of Francis Makemie.

‡ The name of this Irish minister has not yet been discovered, and we know nothing of his ministry beyond the fact of his death and the bereavement of his congregation, thus incidentally given by Makemie. (See Appendix X.)

Maryland, Virginia, and the Barbadoes. He was a merchant as well as a preacher, and combined mercantile pursuits with the preaching of the gospel at his own charges. It would seem that he removed from Elizabeth River to the eastern shore of Virginia early in 1690. About this time Josias Makie arrived from Ireland to take his place, and he seems to have gone to Accomac county in place of William Traill. He did not settle there, at this time; for he went to London in 1691, and returned early in 1692.*

In 1692 he came into conflict with George Keith, the itinerant Quaker, who visited him at his house and disputed with him. Keith urged Makemie to a public disputation, but Makemie declined on the ground that it would be unprofitable.† Makemie had published a Catechism which was the chief cause of the debate, for it had attacked the Quakers and antagonized many of their principles. Makemie challenged Keith to oppose his Catechism in writing. Keith did so, and left the document "in the hands of a Mr. George Layfield at Rehoboth in Pocamock." To it Makemie immediately replied.‡

* He appears on the Records of Accomac county February 17, 1690. He was then engaged in the West India trade. February 21, 1692, 450 acres of land were granted to him by that court. He married Naomi, daughter of William Anderson, of Accomac. (I. Spence, *Letters on the Early History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 163 *seq.*)

† F. Makemie, *Answer to George Keith's Libel against a Catechism published by Francis Makemie*, Boston, 1694, p. 72.

‡ This Catechism has not yet been discovered. We have diligently searched for it, in the leading libraries of Great Britain and America. Makemie says that "After it was first composed, I did compendize and abreviate it, oftener than once, to suit it to the capacities of such for whom it was prepared—even young ones." Keith charged, "His whole work is a collection from others." To this Makemie replies: "And that it is a collection from the Scriptures of the living God, I never will deny, but glory in it. If Keith mean from others, it is false and there is no mention of these others in the Title page" (p. 24). Makemie's *Answer* is composed of four parts: (1) A Preface in which he gives an account of the dis-

Francis Makemie did not remain in Accomac, but in August, 1692, went to Philadelphia, and soon after removed to the Barbadoes, where he engaged in business, and was pastor of a church for several years until the spring of 1698.* August 15, 1699, he produced at the Accomac court certificates of his qualification to preach from Barbadoes; and was thereupon licensed to preach "in his own dwelling house in Pocomoke, near the Maryland line and at Onancock, five miles from Drummondton, or the house next to Jonathan Liveseys."† The church of Snow Hill, Maryland, and four others in the vicinity, were soon after organized and enjoyed his ministry for some years.

The congregation on the Elizabeth River was supplied by Josias Mackie.‡ He probably began his ministry

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pute. (2) The paper of Keith which he publishes in full, and with regard to which he says: "As I have prefixed his paper verbatim so I expect the same priviledge is mine, if any answer is published." But no answer was published so far as we can learn. (3) The Short Answer itself, which takes up the body of the work. And (4) The Appendix, giving an account of the quarrels of the Quakers in Pennsylvania occasioned by Keith. The Preface has the date of July 26, 1692, but it was not published till 1694. The Appendix mentions the date of his visit to Pennsylvania as August, 1692.

* His name does not appear on the Records of Accomac county, Virginia, from February 21, 1692, until October 4, 1698, when it appears in connection with the Will of his father-in-law who left Makemie and his wife 1,000 acres at Matchatank. (Spence, in *l. c.*, pp. 163–171.) He writes a long letter from the Barbadoes, dated December 28, 1696, which was published at Edinburgh in 1699 under the title, *Truths in a True Light, or a Pastoral Letter to the Reformed Protestants in Barbadoes vindicating the Nonconformists, from the misrepresentations, commonly made of them in that island, and in other places; and demonstrating, that they are indeed the truest and soundest part of the Church of England.* He also writes two letters to Increase Mather from thence, the one dated January 17, 1697(8), the other February 12, 1697(8). In one of these he expresses his anxiety to leave, and states that he has been for two years prevented "from going off for my health, for want of supply." (See the letters in Appendix X.)

† Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 301.

‡ He was son of Patrick Mackie, of St. Johnstone, County Donegal, Ireland. (W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, N. Y., 1860, III., p. 9.) On the Minutes of the Presbytery of Laggan at McGee College, Londonderry, is the fol-

in 1691. He took the oath of fidelity to the British Crown and renounced all connection with the Roman Catholic Church, and received permission to preach, June 22, 1692, at the house of Thomas Ivy on the Eastern Branch, the house of Richard Phillpot in Tanner's Creek precinct, and the house of John Roberts on the Western Branch. In 1693 he was discouraged and thought of returning to Ireland, but finally resolved to remain. November 18, 1696, another place of meeting was granted at John Dickson's on the Southern Branch. He remained in charge of this congregation until his death in November, 1716.*

The Presbyterians on the Patuxent were kept together by their godly elder, Col. Ninian Beal, from the time of Matthew Hill until the arrival of Nathaniel Taylor. We cannot tell whether there were any ministers to this people during this long time. It is also uncertain at what time Nathaniel Taylor began his ministry there.† He was

lowing record: "Mch. 25, 1693. The meeting being certainly informed that Mr. Josias M'Kee resolves speedily to return to Europe from Virginia, Mr. Craighead is appointed to write to him inviting him to this meeting in case he find that he cannot continue in America." In the British Museum, *MSS.* 27,382, ff. 197–228, there is an Account of the present state and government of Virginia, signed by Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and E. Chilton, written not later than 1691, saying: "There are few or no dissenters in that country, not so many of any sort as to set up a meeting house except 3 or 4 meetings of Quakers and one of Presbyterians." This one Presbyterian meeting-house, without doubt, belonged to the congregation on Elizabeth River.

*I. W. K. Handy gives from the official records of Norfolk county important information respecting Mackie, in Sprague, *Annals*, III., pp. 5 *seq.* The minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, Sept. 22, 1712, record: "A complaint of the melancholy circumstance of Mr. Jo. Macky, in Elizabeth River, labours under, by Mr. Henry, the Presbytery was concerned. And Mr. John Hampton saying that he desinged to write to him in an affair of his own, the Presbytery desired him to signify their regard to, and concern for him." He died between the 7th and 16th of November, 1716. His will is dated Nov. 7th, and it was proved on the 16th of the month.

† The tradition followed by Charles Hodge (*Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, Philadelphia, 1851, I. 57), that Nathaniel Taylor came over with a congregation of Scots from Fifeshire in 1690,

either sent over by the London ministers, or was a missionary from the Boston ministers. This congregation on the Patuxent had no church building, although they had a venerable ruling elder, Ninian Beal.* The name of Nathaniel Taylor first appears in a deed of gift of Ninian Beal. He gave half an acre of land "for ye erecting and building a house for ye service of almighty God," Nov. 20, 1704. Col. Ninian Beal thus overlaps Matthew Hill and Nathaniel Taylor, and is the connecting link with William Durand, the elder, who led the persecuted Puritans from Nansemond, Virginia, to the Patuxent, Maryland.†

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and the supposition of Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 318, that he was "ordained in Scotland in 1702 or '3 and came immediately to Marlborough, on the Patuxent," are inconsistent and equally without evidence. We have not been able to find any such name as Nathaniel Taylor in the Registers of the Universities of Scotland or among the ministers of the Church of Scotland. The name is rather an English Puritan name. It seems much more likely that Nathaniel Taylor was sent from New England. We have the following weighty evidence that New England ministers were working in Maryland at the close of the 17th century. George Keith writes to Dr. Thomas Bray from Philadelphia, Feb. 24, 1702(3) (Letter Book, *S. P. G.*), "Some well affected to the Church have desired me to write to my Lord Bishop of London, and to say, that if a minister be not sent with the first conveniency Presbyterian ministers from New England would swarm into these new countries and prevent the increase of the church." The Maryland clergy write to the Lord Bishop of London, from Port Annapolis, May 18, 1696 (W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections*, *Maryland*, 1878, p. 8), "When his excellency Gov. Nicholson, came into the country in the year 1694, there were but three clergymen in episcopal orders, besides 5 or 6 popish priests. There was also a sort of wandering pretenders to preaching that came from New England and other places, which deluded not only the Protestant dissenters from our church but many of the churchmen themselves, by their extempore prayers and preachments, for which they were admitted by the people and got money of them."

* The *Rolls* office, London, in the *Maryland Documents*, III., B. 39, contains a Report of the sheriffs of all the Counties of Maryland, with reference to the state of religion in Maryland, Aug. 1697, which knows only "A house at Snow Hill, one at the road going up along the sea side and one at Manoakin about thirty feet long, plain country buildings all of them." These were all in Somerset county.

† In this deed of gift, given in Appendix XII., several names are mentioned which appear as elders in the Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia and the Synod of Philadelphia. James Stoddard, 1707; Alexander Beal, 1708, '9 and '14; James Beal, 1713, and Archibald Edmundson, 1716.

V.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW JERSEY.

Eastern New Jersey was largely settled by Puritans from New England and New York. The first Puritan church in the colony was removed from Branford, Connecticut, to Newark, New Jersey, in 1667, under the care of the venerable pastor, Abraham Pierson.* His son Abraham was associated with him as assistant pastor in 1669, and after the death of his father remained sole pastor till 1692, when he removed to Connecticut, and subsequently became the first rector of Yale College.

Jeremiah Peck began preaching at Elizabethtown in 1668, where he remained for ten years. He was followed by Seth Fletcher from 1680–1682, when he died. Both of these ministers were New England Puritans.† John Allin began preaching at Woodbridge, September, 1680, but he served only a few years, for he died Jan. 2, 1683.‡

There are several letters giving an account of the religious condition of the colony in 1684. They represent that there was but one settled minister at this time, Abraham Pierson, Jr., at Newark.§

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* We have met him at Southampton, Long Island. (See p 100.) From thence he removed with a portion of his flock to Branford, Conn., because he was dissatisfied with the jurisdiction of the Connecticut Colony. But when the New Haven Colony united with the Connecticut Colony, he removed with his flock to Newark, with the determination that all civil power should be restricted to members of the Congregational churches. (J. F. Stearns, *Historical Discourses relating to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark*, Newark, 1883, pp. 26 *seq.*,

† E. F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth*, N. Y., 1868, pp. 201 *seq.*

‡ He was a graduate of Harvard in 1643. (Sibley, I., pp. 99, 527.)

§ "There be people of several sorts of Religion, but few very zealous. The people being mostly *New England* men, doe mostly incline their way, and in every Town there is a meeting house where they worship publickly every Week: They have no publick Law in the countrey for maintaining public Teachers, but the Towns that have them make way with themselves to maintain them. We know none that hath a settled Preacher that follows no other Imployment, save one Town Newark." (Letter 29, Mch., 1684, in George Scot, *Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America*, Edinburgh, 1685. Republished in *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, I., 1846, p. 291.) "There are here very good Religious People, they go under the name of *Inde-*

In 1685, Geo. Scot, of Pillochie, embarked for New Jersey with upwards of a hundred other Scotsmen and two ministers, Archibald Riddel and John Frazer. They were allowed to exchange the prisons in which they had been confined on account of their fidelity to Presbyterian principles, for exile. The voyage was a bad one, and disease carried off a great number of the passengers, including the leader, George Scot, and the wife of Riddel. The remainder arrived in safety, and settled at Woodbridge, New Jersey. Riddel remained with them as pastor until June, 1689, when he returned to Scotland.* John Frazer removed to Woodbury, Connecticut, and preached at Woodbury until the Revolution, when he returned to Scotland.†

In 1687, the church at Elizabethtown called John Harriman,‡ a graduate of Harvard College (1667). He remained pastor until his death, Aug. 20, 1705. In October, 1695, Samuel Shepard settled at Woodbridge, and remained until 1702.§

pendents, but are most like to the *Presbyterians*, only they will not receive every one to their society; we have great need of good and Faithful ministers, And I wish to God, that there would come some over here; they can live as well, and have as much as in Scotland, and more than many get; we have none within all the Province of East Jersey except one who is Preacher in *Newark;* there were one or two Preachers more in the Province, but they are dead, and now the people they meet together every Sabbath day, and Read and Pray, and sing Psalms in their meeting-houses." (Letter of Peter Watson, Aug. 20, 1684, in G. Scot, *Model*, p. 302.)

* He graduated from the University of Edinburgh July 9, 1656; was ordained to Kippen, in the Presbytery of Dunblaine, in 1670; was imprisoned from 1677–1685. He sailed for England from Woodbridge June, 1689, was captured by the French, but soon after ransomed. He returned to Kippen in 1691. He was transferred to Wemyss, Sept. 28, 1691, and from thence to Kirkcaldy, May 20, 1697, and thence to Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, Dec. 8, 1701. He died Feb. 17, 1708, in his 73d year, "a singularly pious and laborious servant of Jesus Christ." (Hugh Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*, II., pp. 130, 562, 515; I. 37.)

† He became minister at Alness Nov. 19, 1696, where he remained until his death, Nov. 7, 1711. (Hugh Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*, V., p. 291.)

‡ See p. 105.

§ He was son of Samuel Shepard, pastor of Rowley, Mass. He graduated at

The earliest Puritan church in West Jersey was established at Cohanzy, under the ministry of Thomas Bridge,* in the period from 1692–1697. This congregation was composed of Puritans from Fairfield county, Connecticut, and they named these towns after Fairfield and Greenwich, in Connecticut. He remained pastor of this flock until 1704, when he went to Boston and became pastor of the 1st church of Boston.†

At the close of the seventeenth century the colony of New Jersey had but four congregations of Puritans and three settled ministers: John Prudden at Newark, John Harriman at Elizabethtown, and Thomas Bridge at Cohanzy.

VI.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

The earliest Presbyterian minister in Delaware was Samuel Davis, who was engaged in business, and also preached

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Harvard in 1685. (See W. A. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, N. Y., 1856, pp. 384 *seq.*)

* Thomas Bridge came to Boston from England in 1682 with testimonials from a number of London ministers, among whom we may mention Samuel Lee, John Owen, and Matthew Mead. (It is No. 54 in Vol. IV. of the Mather Papers in the Boston Public Library.) He went to Port Royal in Jamaica and ministered there several years. (There is a letter from thence June 3, 1686, to Dr. Mather, in No. 15, Vol. VI., of Mather Papers.) He subsequently removed to the Bermudas. Daniel Cox, M.D., of London, one of the West Jersey proprietors, wrote to him, August 15, 1692, urging him to settle in West Jersey. The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, V., p. 114, contains this letter, also a letter from the West Jersey Society in England, to Mr. Bridge, dated July 29, 1692, promising him a thousand acres for himself, and an additional thousand for the perpetual use of the ministry of the church to be established at Cohanzy. This land was surveyed at Cohanzy, May 17, 1697. All these documents are said to be in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, N. J. (See also W. A. Whitehead, *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey*, Newark, 1881, Vol. II., pp. 95–96.)

† A letter to Thomas Bridge at Cohanzy, dated April 22, 1703, is given in the *American Quarterly Register*, xiv., p. 404. He removed to Boston in 1704, and was installed May 10, 1705. He remained in Boston until his death.

at Lewes, Delaware. He was at work there prior to July, 1692. He was probably an Irishman.* While the ministers of New Haven and Fairfield county, Connecticut, were caring for the little flocks in New York and New Jersey, the Boston ministers were also active in caring for the flocks on the Delaware. Increase and Cotton Mather were especially efficient in this regard. Benjamin Colman subsequently aided them in the work.† Mather and Colman were in constant correspondence with the leading Presbyterians of England, Ireland, and Scotland. In 1698 the Boston ministers sent Benjamin Woodbridge to Philadelphia, and John Wilson to New Castle, on the Delaware. Benjamin Woodbridge was a kindly and generous-minded man.‡ He came to Phila-

* He was visited by George Keith, the Quaker, July, 1692, who complained to him against Francis Makemie. (See Makemie, *Answer to George Keith's Libel against a Catechism*, p. 72.) We have not been able to trace Samuel Davis to his origin. The name led us to think that he was Welsh in origin. But the following letter of Thos. Crawford seems to point to him, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, its evidence should be accepted. Possibly he was from the region of Dublin, Ireland, where considerable numbers of Welsh and English Puritans were settled. A letter from Thos. Crawford to the Secretary of the *S. P. G.*, April 3, 1706, from Dover Hundred, says: "I was lately in Sussex Co. where I preached several times, where I found a people mighty civil and a great many well inclined to the church." . . . . "They desire a supply by reason there is a Presbyterian preacher in the place whom, when I was there, I sent for, but refused me a meeting; his life is not very regular and I hope will do us no hurt." In another letter of Crawford to Rev. Mr. Stubbs, April 8, 1706, from the same place, he says: "Sir, I was invited by the gentlemen of the west county (viz Sussex) and upon their *desire* I went and preached at one Capt. Hills house, then at Lewistown, and on a third time in another place; and I found them all in general inclined to the church (tho an Irish Presbyterian has preached there some years) and after conversation with them they joined in an address to my Lord of London for a minister." (Perry, *Hist. Collections*, pp. 2 and 4.) The Irish Presbyterian referred to seems to be Davis.

† Colman went to London as a young man and co-operated with the Presbyterians. He served as a missionary of the Presbyterian Board, at Cambridge and at Bath. He was ordained in London by the Presbyterians in 1699, and returned to Boston in hearty sympathy with them. (Turrell, *Life of Colman*, Boston, 1749, p. 44; *American Quarterly Register*, xv., pp. 348–351.)

‡ See Appendix XIII. for a further account of Benjamin Woodbridge, and an important letter from him to the Lord Bishop of London.

delphia with a letter of introduction to Gov. Markham from Gov. Danforth, of Massachusetts, in which it is said: "Our beloved Bro. Mr. Benj. Woodbridge, now sent, not to handle such points as are matters of controversies among Protestants, but to preach unto as many of all persuasions as the Lord shall make willing to hear such truths even as are without controversy, even the great mystery of Godliness." *

But for some unknown reason Woodbridge soon retired, and Jedediah Andrews took his place.† He arrived in Philadelphia from Boston in the summer of 1698. The Baptists and the Puritans had been worshipping in the same building, the one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. But they discontinued the practice in November of this year, owing to an unhappy misunderstanding.‡ Andrews seems to have been ordained in Philadelphia in 1701.§ Jedediah Andrews con-

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* See Perry, *Historical Collections*, 1871, II., p. 8.

† Andrews was born at Hingham, Mass., under the pastorate of Peter Hobart, who had always been a Presbyterian. He graduated from Harvard in 1695.

‡ Thos. Clayton, the first Church of England minister in Philadelphia, wrote November 29, 1698, to the Governor of Pennsylvania: "I have often talked with the Presbyterian minister and find him such as I could wish. They tell me that have heard him that he makes a great noise; but this did not amaze me, considering the bulk and emptiness of the thing, but he is so far from growing upon us that he threatens to go home in the spring, and could this be a quiet place for him, yet he ought to do this according to the laudable custom of Hugh Peters to bring them to a better subscription." He also mentions that the Presbyterians and Baptists use the "same meeting house, one in the morning and one in the afternoon,"—"which I upbraided the Presbyterian with—all as being a direct cherishing of a schism against himself as well as me; and would fain have set him to work against him; but could not spur him to it." (Perry, *Historical Collections*, II., p. 14, from *Fulham MSS.*) He seems not to have known of the difficulty which had already arisen, and which is set forth in the correspondence between Rev. John Watts of the Baptist church in Pennepek and Jedediah Andrews. (See an account of this affair in the Appendix XIV.)

§ Talbot writes to the Secretary of the *S. P. G.*, September 1, 1703: "The Presbyterians here come a great way to lay hands one on another, but, after all, I think they had as good stay at home for the good they do." (Ernest Hawkins, *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North*

tinued as pastor of this flock for many years until his death. He became one of the fathers of the first American classical Presbytery.

The church at New Castle, whither John Wilson went, was originally a Dutch Reformed church, founded by John Polhemus in 1658. It continued as a Dutch church until 1684. In 1698 Wilson became the minister, but he does not seem to have established a permanent relation until 1703, when there appears to have been a bench of elders or congregational Presbytery.* This John Wilson was probably the grandson of the original pastor of Boston, and was sent with Benjamin Woodbridge from Boston.†

American Colonies, London, 1845, p. 37; and Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 314.) Geo. Keith writes to Dr. Bray from Philadelphia, February 24, 1702(3) (*Letter Book, S. P. G.*): "They have here a Presbyterian meeting and minister, one called Andrews, but they are not like to increase here."

* Spotswood, *Sketch of the Presbyterian Church of New Castle*, Phil., 1869. See, also, letter of Mr. Ross, March 1, 1727, to the Sec. *S. P. G.*, and W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. V., Delaware, 1878, p. 44.

"The first inhabitants of this place were Dutch—a colony from New York and of the church of Holland. They built a small wooden church, where a minister of their own way and sometimes a reader, in their several capacities officiated. But when the town was surrendered to the English, and the Dutch remained unsupplied with a preacher, the said chapel was neglected and at length tumbled down, leaving a bell, which the county took possession of, and still retains (how justly I shall not enquire), and a lott of ground, as memorandum of its religious founders to posterity. In the year 1703, those in New Castle of the communion of the church of England, from a sense of a want of a person in holy orders to reside among them, and observing how the Presbyterians were gaining ground in the place by reason of their having a preacher to promote their interest, resolved to petition the Bishop of London to take compassion on their deplorable circumstances."

† The Mather papers contain two letters with reference to John Wilson at New Haven; one from Jane Hook to John Wilson of Medford, son of John Wilson, the pastor of the first church of Boston, speaking of his son at New Haven (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IV. Series, viii., p. 268); another from John Doxwell to Increase Mather, sent by John Wilson from New Haven, March 22, 1683(4). It seems that the New Haven church enjoyed his ministry for a year. He was baptized in Boston July 8, 1648, and married July 4, 1683, to a daughter of Rev.

The century closed with two Presbyterian ministers in Delaware, Samuel Davis at Lewes and John Wilson at Newcastle; and with one in Pennsylvania, Jedediah Andrews, at Philadelphia.

VII.—PRESBYTERIANISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Scotchmen began to emigrate to America in large numbers after the battle of Bothwell in 1684, when large numbers were banished. A body of twenty-two sailed from Glasgow, on the ship "Eaglesham and Eastward," for Carolina. William Dunlop, a probationer, went with them and settled at Port Royal on the Broad River. But the place proved unhealthy, and the colony was soon broken up. William Dunlop served as pastor of this flock for several years; but finally returned to Scotland, and subsequently became principal of the University of Glasgow.*

The New England ministers also sent missionaries to Carolina. The first of these, whose names have come

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Roger Newton, of Milford, Conn. He disappears after this date (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IV., Vol. viii., p. 165). The John Wilson of Delaware was sent from Boston in 1698. The settlement on the Delaware was indeed from New Haven and Fairfield. The lands were purchased in 1640 by Connecticut, and fifty families settled there. They were opposed by the Dutch and Swedes, but eventually gained the supremacy (William Hill, *American Presbyterianism*, 1839, pp. 65 *seq.*) That this John Wilson came from New England is clear from the following testimony: Mr. Moore writes a letter to F. Nicholson, Philadelphia, May 6, 1698, "I am sorry to acquaint your excellency that certain advice is come of two non-conformist ministers (one for Philadelphia, the other for New Castle) on the way thither from Boston" (W. S. Perry, *Hist. Collections*, II., p. 8). Thomas Clayton writes to the Governor, November 29, 1698: "The other Presbyterian goes from Newcastle in the spring too (as I am told)" (in *l. c.*, II., p. 14). Geo. Keith writes to Dr. Bray from Philadelphia, February 24, 1702(3): "At Newcastle 40 miles from Philadelphia there is at present no minister, they had a Presbyterian minister called Wilson, but he has been gone about half a year." (See original letters *S. P. G.*)

* The Wodrow MSS. (Advocates' Library, Edinburgh), xxxvi., Rob. III., 11, 64, contain a letter from Charleston, S. C., dated October 17, 1689, which mentions William Dunlop the minister, and gives an account of the taking of a girl, named Eliza Lanning, on the ship to Carolina against her will.

down to us, is Thomas Barrett, who labored on the Ashley River prior to 1684.* In 1690 a Puritan church was established in Charlestown by Benjamin Pierpont,† who remained until his death in 1696 or '7, when he was succeeded by Eliphalet Adams,‡ and in 1698 by John Cotton,§ who died September 8, 1699.‖

October 22, 1695, Joseph Lord ¶ organized a church at Charlestown, Mass., and removed with it to Dorchester, S. C., where he remained as pastor for more than twenty years.**

June 25, 1695, a Scotch trading company was constituted, and an earnest effort was made to establish a Scotch colony on the Isthmus of Darien in 1698–9. The Commission of the General Assembly sent several ministers with the colony. Thomas James, Adam Scott, and Alexander Dagleish died at sea on the voyage outward. Alexander Shields, Francis Boreland, and Archibald Stobo arrived safely in the colony, and erected the Presbytery of Caledonia, the first classical Presbytery on the American continent. But the colony was broken up in the following year, owing to the opposition of the French and Spanish, and even English traders, and the criminal neglect of the British Government, which was not in sympathy with a Scottish colony. The majority of the ministers and people sought refuge in New England, where they were kindly received. Alexander Shields died at Jamaica, on his homeward voyage. Francis Boreland removed to Scotland in safety, and returned to his parish, where he died in

* See p. 116. † Harvard, 1689. ‡ Harvard, 1694.

§ Harvard, 1681.

‖ Sprague, I., p. 29; Gillett, I., p. 242. *American Quarterly Register*, XIV., p. 70.

¶ Harvard, 1691.

** He returned to Massachusetts and was installed over the church at Charlestown, June 15, 1720. (*American Quarterly Register*, XIV., p. 70.)

1722. Archibald Stobo set sail for Scotland. The vessel was overtaken by a storm and greatly damaged. Stobo was landed at Charleston, S. C. The Puritan congregation had just lost their pastor, John Cotton, who died Sept. 8, 1699. They were glad to receive the Scottish minister. They gave him a call, and he settled with them. His wife had shared all his hardships, and united with him in ministering to this congregation. Stobo devoted his life to the establishment of Presbyterianism in Carolina.*

At the opening of the eighteenth century there was no strife between the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians and the Puritans of England and America, but only the most hearty sympathy and co-operation. This is manifest not only from the settling of Scotch and Irish ministers in New England, and their mingling together in the Middle colonies and Carolina, but still more by a letter of thanks from the Provincial Synod of Glasgow to the Rev. Dr. Mather in New England, dated 1700:†

"Seeing you and we are so much united together not only by the common bonds of Christianity and Protestantism, but also by the nearest agreement in the purity and gospel simplicity of divine worship and in the exercise of strict discipline unto morality of life, we think, it may be very needful (especially at this juncture when popish zeal doth so readily exert itself in many sad instances and when all our common enemies are lying at the catch) that Christian communion be mutually maintained by ourselves and express prayer for one another, by brotherly correspondence and communicating acquaintance by mutual advice, assistance and sympathy, that thereby we may strengthen one anothers hands in the work of the Lord and contribute in our several ca-

* He graduated from the University of Edinburgh, June 25, 1697. (See Hugh Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*, I., p. 400.)

† It is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in the Wodrow MSS., Jac. V., 29 f. xxxix.

pacities toward the advancement of our blessed Redeemer. For ourselves we heartily wish that an intercourse may be established between the ministers of New England and us in Scotland, and we the ministers and elders of the Provincial Synod of Glasgow met together, do earnestly recommend it unto you, very reverend and dear Brother (whose eminent services in the gospel have rendered your name deservedly precious and savorie unto us all) to impart our desire unto your Reverend brethren."

The object of the letter was to thank Mather for the help he had given to the ministers of the Presbytery of Caledonia in their distress, and it shows the brotherly sympathy of Scotland and New England. It was this spirit that made the combination of English and Scotch Presbyterians possible and actual in the colonies of America.

Thus, at the close of the seventeenth century, there were at the basis of American Presbyterianism a large number of Presbyterian Puritan churches in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. There were three Irish Presbyterian ministers—Francis Makemie and Josias Makie in Virginia, Samuel Davis in Delaware; and one Scotch Presbyterian in South Carolina, Archibald Stobo. Besides these several Scotch Presbyterians had settled in New England Congregational churches. James Brown and James Keith, two of the Scottish ministers ejected in 1662, went to New England. James Brown settled at Swansey, Mass., but returned after the British Revolution, and became pastor in Glasgow, Scotland.* James Keith settled at Bridgewater, Mass., in 1664, and remained until his death in 1719.† James Frazer was also supply at

* He was admitted to the Presbytery of Glasgow May 29, 1688; was promoted to the High Church June 10, 1691. He died April 30, 1714. (See Hugh Scott, *Fasti*. III., 16.) He subsequently was a correspondent of the Presbytery of Philadelphia and exerted himself on behalf of the infant Church in America. (See p. 168.)

† Alex. Blaikie, *History of Presbyterianism in New England*, Boston, 1881, p. 27.

Woodbury, Conn., from 1686–88, when he returned to Scotland and settled at Alness.*

These ministers and churches were in entire sympathy. Some of them had congregational Presbyteries, others had but a single ruling elder; still others had but their pastor, who exercised the functions of an entire Presbytery; some had no elders at all, but depended upon occasional supplies. They were unable, from the circumstances in which they were placed, to be more than feeble germinal Presbyterian churches. They did not see their way to the organization of Classical Presbyteries. The dominant influence at the close of the seventeenth century in the Middle colonies and in South Carolina in the Presbyterian Church was Puritan and English—but the Scotch and Irish and Welsh were everywhere welcomed into Christian fellowship and communion. The English Puritan churches were glad to settle Scotch and Irish pastors over them, and there was no friction.

The American Presbyterian Church began historically at the bottom, and only by degrees did it rise into the magnificent system which we now behold. It was not a reconstruction of an old Papal system into a new Presbyterian system, as in Scotland. It was a free and natural growth in accordance with the preferences of the congregations themselves. American Presbyterianism was born and nurtured and reached its maturity in freedom. It developed naturally in accordance with the circumstances of the country. It was not imposed upon the people by civil or ecclesiastical tribunals.†

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* See p. 122.

† From what we have shown in this chapter it is clear that Dr. Charles Hodge is entirely mistaken when he says: "The strict Presbyterian emigrants, Scotch, Irish, Dutch and French, laid the foundations of our church in New York, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas." (*Constitutional History*, I., p. 59.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESBYTERY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1706–1716.

IMMEDIATELY after the revolution in 1688, when the Puritans threw off the yoke of James II. and gave the throne of Great Britain to William and Mary, religious life began to manifest itself in increased energy and activity in all the denominations. The ancient efforts for union and co-operation among the Puritans were revived. In 1690 "*Heads of Agreement assented to by the united ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational,*" were adopted and signed by more than eighty ministers. Increase Mather, the New England divine, was in London at the time, and he exerted himself strongly in their behalf. Richard Baxter was too ill to be present, but he sent a congratulatory letter. This union was a grand rally of the London churches. It was responded to by corresponding unions all over England, and also in and about Dublin, Ireland.*

I.—THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

July 1, 1690, a General Fund was established by the two denominations, Presbyterian and Congregational, to aid in training ministers, in supplying feeble congregations, and in extending the Puritan faith.†

* There is in Dr. Williams' Library, London, the Minutes of the United Brethren of the city and county of Exon, and county of Devon, from 1690 to September 4, 1717. In the Cheetam Library, Manchester, there are Minutes of the United Brethren of the county of Lancaster from April 3, 1693, to August 13, 1700.

† See Appendix XIV. for an account of this Fund.

These Heads of Agreement were subsequently adopted at Saybrook, Conn., in 1708, and inserted with the Savoy Confession in the Saybrook platform, and the system of Consociations was established. The Massachusetts ministers also formed Associations with standing Councils in 1705. It was designed to rally the Presbyterian and Congregational churches of Great Britain and her colonies against Prelacy and Popery.

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists of Dublin also combined in the Presbytery of Dublin. The Presbyterians of Dublin were chiefly English Presbyterians. They revived the Association of 1658(9).* There were five churches in Dublin, and several in the South of Ireland, as at Waterford and Enniscorthy. The ministers of Dublin also organized a Trust Fund. A preliminary movement was made as early as 1696, but the General Fund was not organized until May 1, 1710. The object of this fund was the same as that of the London Fund, but with more particular reference to the South of Ireland.†

The Presbytery of Dublin maintained its independence of the Synod of Ulster, although some of the ministers were members of both bodies. The Presbyterians of the North of Ireland were from Scotland, as those of the South were from England. The northern Presbyterians were zealous for the Scotch Presbytery, but the southern were suspicious of its claims for jurisdiction. The Synod of Ulster was organized in 1690, after the return of the banished ministers from Scotland, and it entered upon a zealous prosecution of its work in the North of Ireland.‡

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*See p. 78. †See Appendix XV. for an account of this Fund.

‡ This mingling of the English and Scotch Presbyterians in Ireland has been too much neglected by Irish Church historians, who have written from the point of view of the Synod of Ulster. Francis Makemie correctly represents the situ-

If the London Union could have been preserved, it would have proved of incalculable service to the Church of Christ; but unfortunately it became the centre of strife. If Increase Mather could have influenced his brother Nathaniel to be reasonable, this might have been prevented. The Congregationalists thus presented their case:*

"The Congregational brethren were offended at several managements in the Union, but never deserted it till that happened which forced them at last to leave it. It was this: Mr. Daniel Williams published a book against Doctor Crisp's opinions, and with a confutation of the Doctor's opinions, he did interweave several notions of his own, which have been reckoned contrary to the received and approved doctrine of the Reformed Churches. To speak the least of the book, it goes as far from the doctrine of the first and best reformers as the *new method* or the Amyraldian scheme does, if it does not take some steps farther."

The conflict was thus opened between Crisp's Antinomianism, sustained by the Congregational brethren, and Daniel Williams' Amyraldianism, or Baxterianism or "new method," supported by the Presbyterian brethren.†

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ation: "Harder things were soon contrived and imposed, to the casting out of many able and godly ministers, followed by multitudes of people; and these being cast out, and kept out to this day, are *Non-conformists* and *Dissenters*, and the most considerable part *Presbyterians*, and those of Ireland are partly from England, partly from Scotland, who since the conquest joyned with others in settling that kingdom." (Makemie, *Truths in a True Light*, 1699, p. 8.)

* *History of the Union between the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in and about London; and the causes of the breach of it*, London, 1698, p. 9.

† Daniel Williams was born at Wrexham in 1643, and became a preacher at twenty years of age. He went to Ireland as chaplain to the Earl of Meath, and became pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in Drogheda. In 1667 he began his pastorate of Wood Street, Dublin, where he remained twenty years. He left Ireland in 1687 and settled in London. He was an intimate friend of Richard Baxter, and succeeded him in the Pinner Hall lectureship. He was one of the most influential, benevolent, and useful ministers of his age. (See James Armstrong, *Ordination Sermon, etc.*, Dublin, 1829, p. 69.)

Six Congregational ministers complained of Dr. Williams' book to the Union. A long and bitter strife arose, lasting many years. The attitude of the broader Presbyterian brethren is admirably presented in "A Pacificatory Paper":

"For the composing whereof (some unhappy differences), as we formerly expressed our approbation of the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, or the Confession of Faith compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or that at the Savoy, as agreeable to the Word of God; unto that approbation we still adhere: declaring further that if any of us shall at any time hereafter be apprehended to have expressed himself disagreeing thereunto, we will with brotherly candour and kindness mutually endeavour to give and receive just satisfaction herein; bearing with one another's infirmities and different sentiments about *logical* or *philosophical terms*, or *merely humane* forms of speech, in matters of *lesser weight*, not thinking it reasonable or just to charge upon any brother such consequences of any expression or opinion of his which he himself shall disown."

This admirable expression of the true spirit of Westminster Presbyterianism was signed by a Committee composed of William Bates, Samuel Slater, John Howe, Vincent Alsop, Richard Stretton, Daniel Burgess, and John Shower, March 25, 1696—all men of fame and power. On the other side were Geo. Griffith, Matthew Mead, Thomas Cole, Nathaniel Mather, Isaac Chauncy, and John James. The result of the controversy was the meeting of the two bodies in separate places and the establishment of two separate funds.* Happily the controversy was chiefly confined to the vicinity of London; and it did not destroy the unions in the other counties of England, or in Dublin, or in America.

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* See Appendix XIV.

II.—THE EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

The Church of England also roused herself to greater efforts and began to look after her interests in the American colonies. The Governors of the colonies, the military officers, and chaplains were zealous for episcopacy. The movement began in Maryland. It is thus described by Ernest Hawkins:

"In 1691 and 1692 the Gov. and Assembly of Maryland divided the province into parishes, established a legal maintenance for the respective ministers, and memorialized the Bishop of London to send over some experienced clergyman as an ecclesiastical commissary. The person selected for this honorable office was Dr. Bray, a man highly to be honoured, and to be had in lasting remembrance for his zealous and self-denying exertions in behalf of the Church, both at home and abroad." (Hawkins, *Historical Notices*, London, 1845, p. 15.)

Dr. Bray was appointed in 1696. He devoted himself to his task with great zeal. He strove to establish a Protestant Congregation for the propagation of the faith. He failed for a time; but in 1698, under his influence, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded, as a voluntary society, with the view of establishing catechetical schools, and the promoting Christian knowledge in the plantations, by the furnishing of Bibles, Prayer-Books, and religious treatises, and erecting parochial libraries.* Dr. Bray secured as missionaries, Thomas Clayton for Philadelphia, and Mr. Marshall for Charleston, South Carolina. He sailed in December, 1699, and arrived in Maryland in March of the following year.

Dr. Bray endeavored to secure information as to the precise religious condition of Maryland. He returned to England in 1700, at the request of the clergy of Mary-

* *Account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1733.

land, and presented a memorial with reference to "the present state of Religion on the Continent of North America." * In this memorial he says:

"Nor do I think myself obliged to speak here of New England, where Independency seems to be the religion of the country. My design is not to intermeddle where Christianity under any form has obtained possession; but to represent rather the deplorable state of the English colonies, where they have been in a manner abandoned to Atheism; or which is much at one, to Quakerism, for want of a clergy settled among them."

He urges that "no less than 40 Protestant missionaries should be sent to the American colonies." He petitioned King William for his royal charter for the creating a corporation by the name of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The charter was granted, and is dated June 16, 1701. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge largely passed over into the new corporation; but it was thought best to continue the original voluntary society, and limit its work to its original design, so that each society should have its special field.† The archbishops and bishops and the leading clergy and nobility of England became corporate members of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne parts."

The Society at once began an aggressive work in the colonies with all the influence of the British government, the colonial governors, and their military and civil officers, to sustain it. The most efficient agent of the Society was George Keith.‡ He was at first a zealous Quaker. He went over to Philadelphia and became

* It was printed London, 1700.

† See Appendix XVI. for a further account of this Society.

‡ He was born at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1638, graduated from the University of Aberdeen, abandoned the Church of Scotland, and was persecuted for advocating the principles of the Quakers. The smarts of these wounds made him a bitter enemy to Presbyterianism wherever he went.

involved in a controversy with the Quakers there, and made a schism in their ranks. He came into conflict with Francis Makemie in 1692.* He was sustained in his schism by Bradford the printer, and many others. Keith finally went to England and was ordained by the Lord Bishop of London, and was sent out as the first missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, April 24, 1702, with Patrick Gordon to assist him. He was joined on the vessel by John Talbot, a chaplain of the navy, who took the place of Gordon, after the latter's death. These travelled, in the interests of the Society, from New Hampshire to the Carolinas, for two years, from June 11, 1702, until June 1, 1704.†

Under Keith's influence the Keithite Quakers in a body conformed to the Church of England, and they laid the foundations of the Episcopal Church in the Middle colonies. Keith also engaged in hot dispute with the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, wherever he went.

The activity of such agents as George Keith, supported as they were by the civil and military authorities of the colonies, severely pressed the Presbyterians of the Middle colonies. The existence of Presbyterianism was put in jeopardy.

Francis Makemie, who was familiar with the whole field, and knew the spirit and work of Keith from personal experience of controversy with him, apprehended the serious state of affairs, and determined to appeal to the Presbyterian interest of London for support. The missionaries from London of the Episcopal Missionary Societies must be met by missionaries from London of the Presbyterian Missionary Societies.

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* See p. 117.

† Letters of *S. P. G.*, I., 45, 50, 86, 125; II., 168; IV., 97.

III.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESBYTERY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Francis Makemie went to London in the summer of 1704, and appealed to the London ministers for men, and funds to sustain them. The London ministers furnished support for two missionaries for two years.* Makemie at once secured two young men, John Hampton, an Irishman, and George McNish, a Scotchman.†

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* During his sojourn in London, Makemie published his "*Plain and friendly persuasive to the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland for promoting towns and cohabitation*. By a Well-wisher to both Governments, London, 1705." It is dedicated to His Excellency Major Edward Nott, Her majesty's governor of the ancient dominion of Virginia, by Francis Makemie. It was written in the interests of religion as well as of the material welfare of the colonies. "Towns and cohabitation would highly advance religion, which flourishes most in cohabitations; for in remote and scattered settlements we can never enjoy so fully, frequently, and certainly, those privileges and opportunities as are to be had in all Christian towns and cities; for by reason of bad weather, or other accidents, ministers are prevented, and people are hindered to attend, and so disappoint one another: But in towns, congregations are never wanting, and children and servants never are without opportunity of hearing, who cannot travel many miles to hear, and be catechised." (p. 11). This tract of Makemie was to encourage a movement in which the Presbyterian colonists of Elizabeth River took a lively interest under the lead of Col. Anthony Lawson.

† John Hampton was probably the son of William Hampton of Burt, in the Presbytery of Laggan, Ireland, for that Presbytery on Sept. 27, 1692, resolved to give some help to Mr. John Hampton at the school; and Oct. 30, 1694, they resolved that "as soon as he shall go to college they will allow him £10 per annum during the time of his stay there. As to the way of raising it, it is referred to the next meeting." (See the MS. Minutes of the Presbytery, in McGee College, Londonderry.) He is entered at the University of Glasgow, March 9, 1696, in the 3d class as Hibernus. (The register constantly distinguishes between Hibernus, Scoto-Hibernus, and Anglo-Hibernus.) There is another reference to him on the MS. minutes of the meeting at Antrim, June 7, 1700. "The meeting having read and considered Mr. Hampton's letter he sent to his father from London, orders that he be written to by Mr. Andrew Ferguson signifying that the meeting desires him to go down to Edinburgh that he may spend some time there with Mr. Campbel at the profession, if his circumstances and engagements to other places will allow it." In 1704 he engages to go with Makemie. George McNish is entered at the University of Glasgow in the 3d class, March 1, 1698. The students from Scotland have no nationality given. There can be no doubt therefore that McNish was a Scotsman.

The three missionaries arrived in Maryland in 1705. In the spring of 1706 these three united with Jedediah Andrews, John Wilson, Nathaniel Taylor, and Samuel Davis, four ministers already at work in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland,* in the erection of the first American classical Presbytery.

It was a happy union of British Presbyterianism in its several types. It was an interesting combination. Makemie, the Scotch-Irishman; Hampton, the Irishman, and McNish, the Scotsman, sustained by funds provided by the Presbyterians of London; uniting with Puritan missionaries from New England in organic union in a classical Presbytery. We have here in miniature the entire history of American Presbyterianism. It was a broad, generous, tolerant spirit which effected this union. The Presbytery was organized on the principle of elective affinity, and with regard to the circumstances and the convenience of its members. It did not claim jurisdiction beyond its own members. The majority of the Puritan ministers of New York and New Jersey remained apart for several years. Even the Irishman, Josias Makie, of Elizabeth River, did not unite with them. It was an organization for the meeting of ministers within convenient distance. It was not organized by a higher body. It did not seek authority from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, or from the Synod of Ulster. It organized itself by a voluntary association of ministers. It seems to have taken the Presbytery of Dublin as a model.

The record of the first meeting has been lost. The first recorded meeting was for the ordination of John Boyd,† at Freehold, Dec. 29, 1706, composed of three

* See pp. 119, 121–127.

† John Boyd is entered in the University of Glasgow as a student of the 4th class, March 11, 1701, without nationality. He was therefore Scotch. This is

ministers only. Of the members of the first Presbytery, only three were pastors, the other four were missionaries. The Presbytery has been described by Makemie himself, in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Boston, March 28, 1707, as a "*meeting of ministers.*" *

This is Irish terminology. In 1654 the one Presbytery in Ulster divided itself into three meetings, and subsequently into five: Down, Antrim, Route, Laggan, and Tyrone, and so continued until 1702. These were commissions of Presbytery rather than Presbyteries; and yet they were loosely called Presbyteries even in their official minutes. Their powers were limited, and their acts had only temporary validity until approved by the one Presbytery, which was also loosely called a Synod.†

For some time after the Restoration, the Presbyteries were not allowed to meet. The Presbyterian ministers were forced to leave Ulster in 1663 on account of the suspicions excited by the "Blood plot." They began to return in 1666. In 1669 the *meetings* or Presbyteries were again at work, composed of ministers only.‡ A General Commission was organized as an informal Synod in 1670. These meetings were compelled by circumstances to act as Presbyteries defectively organized, to license, ordain, and install ministers. Rules for trial, ordination, and settlement of ministers were drawn up by the General Commission in 1672. These rules require testimonials and examination, but not subscription.§ Under these rules, probably, Francis Makemie and John

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probably the same John Boyd, probationer, who was ordained Dec. 29, 1706, and died in 1708, before he settled as pastor.

* See Appendix XIII. for this important letter.

† Reid, *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, II., pp. 194, 222.

‡ Reid, *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, II., p. 292.

§ Reid, in *l. c.*, II., pp. 314, 487, 490.

Hampton were licensed and ordained,* if indeed they were not ordained in a still more irregular manner by a private gathering of ministers, such as the English Presbyterians frequently used for this purpose.

The first American classical Presbytery was such an Irish *meeting* of ministers, but without subordination to a higher body, resembling in this respect the Presbytery of Dublin. It was very different from a Westminster classical Presbytery, or a Presbytery of the Kirk of Scotland.

The design of the American Presbytery is also stated by Makemie in the same letter:

"Our design is to meet yearly, and oftener if necessary, to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion and propagating Christianity in our various stations, and to maintain such a correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our ministerial abilities, by prescribing texts to be preached on by two of our number at every meeting, which performance is subject to the censure of our brethren; our subject is Paul's epistle to the Hebrews. I and another began and performed our parts on Verses 1 and 2. The 3rd is presented to Mr. Andrews and another."†

This letter of Makemie enables us to fix the date of the first meeting of the Presbytery in the spring of 1706.

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* We say probably, for the minutes of the Presbytery of Laggan, which begin Aug. 21, 1672, and continue until July 13, 1681, give an interesting account of the examinations of Makemie (see Appendix XII.); but there is a gap from this date until Dec. 30, 1690, during the time when Makemie must have been licensed and ordained. There are also interesting references to aid given to Hampton, (see p. 139), but no reference to his license and ordination.

† This letter was written soon after the adjournment of the Presbytery, which met at Philadelphia, March 22–26. The minutes of the meeting record this exercise: "Mr. Francis Makemie and Mr. John Wilson are appointed to preach upon Tuesday upon the subjects appointed them at the last Presbytery from Hebrews i. 1–2 by way of exercise and addition." This exercise was carried on until the organization of the Synod in 1717, when they had reached Hebrews ii. 1. This also was an Irish custom. The records of the early Irish Presbyteries contain frequent references to it.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia was chiefly a *meeting* of ministers for *ministerial exercise*, "to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion and propagating Christianity." This was a noble design. A generous, catholic spirit animated the Fathers of the Presbytery. They organized an institution which was a rallying-point for Presbyterianism in the Middle States. It enabled them to license and ordain their own ministers in a regular manner; it enabled them to co-operate with the organized forces of Puritanism and Presbyterianism in all parts of the world; it was a master stroke of wise policy which now gave Presbyterianism an advantage over episcopacy, in spite of the strong influences and active oppression by the authorities in Church and State.

The only effective barrier to an American Presbytery was an American Bishopric, which the Episcopal missionaries were wise enough to discern, and which the Society and its friends were earnest enough to advocate; but political considerations prevented for a long time the erection of American bishoprics. The whole body of Puritans and Presbyterians of New England and Great Britain were determined to resist the introduction of bishops into America. They feared lest these might use all the authority of the crown to destroy Puritanism and establish Prelacy.

IV.—THE STRUGGLE OF PRESBYTERIANISM WITH EPISCOPACY IN NEW YORK.

Governor Fletcher, of the colony of New York, so soon as the Act of the Assembly of 1693 was passed, began to interpret it as an establishment of the Church of England in the colony; and strove in every way to force his interpretation of the law upon the Puritan population. This brought about a severe struggle between

Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, which continued for many years.

"There can be no doubt that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting clergy. Such had been the manifest tendency of the previous legislation on the subject. All the Assembly but one were Dissenters and the Church of England was hardly known in the Province. 'There was no face of the Church of England here till about the year 1693.' The Act was very loosely worded, which as things stood then when it was made, could not be avoided. The Dissenters could claim the benefit of it as well as Churchmen, and unless wrested from its true bearing it admitted a construction in their favor. Indeed they had good reason to claim that it was indeed for them, and that they only had a right in it. In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing, and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people who were affected by the operation of the law." (G. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.*, 1867, p. 328.)

January 26, 1695(6), the Puritan vestrymen of New York City, elected by the people, chose William Vesey to be their minister. William Vesey was born in Braintree, Mass., 1674, graduated at Harvard 1693; he was trained by Increase Mather, and sent by him to strengthen the hands of the Puritans in New York. Vesey began preaching at Hempstead; and, as so many of the pastors of Jamaica and Hempstead before him and after him, also ministered to the Puritans of the metropolis in the year 1694–5. He was thus the fourth Puritan minister known to have been connected with the city of New York.

The Church of England men were now determined to take matters in their own hands without regard to the vestrymen. Accordingly ten principal men, led by Cols. Heathcote and Morris, March 19, 1695(6), petitioned Gov. Fletcher for leave to purchase ground and erect a

church. This was granted, and they were permitted to collect funds for the purpose, and received aid in every way from the authorities.

Col. Heathcote also made a bold and successful stroke of policy. He prevailed upon the Puritan minister to conform to the Church of England and to sail to England for orders.

August 2, 1697, Vesey was ordained by the Lord Bishop of London, and returned to become the first rector of the Episcopal Church of the city, and its most zealous advocate against his former friends and associates. The conformity of Vesey to the Church of England was the most unfortunate event that could have happened to Presbyterian Puritanism in New York State. It gave the Episcopal Church the primacy in the city, which by right belonged to the Presbyterian Puritans. We have a Presbyterian view of it from a letter of James Anderson, the first Presbyterian pastor, December 3, 1717. He says:

"After the English had it, endeavors were used by the chief of the people who understood English, toward the settlement of an English Dissenting minister in it, and accordingly one was called from New England, who, after he had preached some time here, having a prospect and promise of more money than what he had among the Dissenters, went to Old England, took orders from the Bishop of London, and came back here as a member of the Established Church of England. Here he yet is, and has done, and still is doing what he can to ruin the Dissenting interest in the place." (See Appendix XX.)

The Rev. Alex. Campbell, a missionary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who was severely, but, as we believe, justly dealt with by Vesey, says in bitterness: "He was a bigot for the N. E. Independency before he came over to the Church, and now a bigot for the Church against the Dissenters." "In the

height of his zeal for non-conformity, the Hon. good-natured Col. Heathcote, admiring the greatness of his memory and the volubility of his speech, by the prospect of a much better settlement at New York than what he had at Hempstead, prevailed with him to go to England and receive orders."* In our judgment these were not the motives which influenced Vesey to conform to the Church of England. At this time there was a strong tendency on the part of the Presbyterian type of Puritans to conform in England, on account of the liberality of the leading bishops and their antagonism to the Jacobite High-Churchmen. There was the feeling among Presbyterian Puritans that the Episcopal form of government was preferable to the Congregational. The Low-Church Episcopalian and Low-Church Presbyterian of England were scarcely different. The leading Presbyterians of England were willing to accept Archbishop Ussher's model, and a little reasonableness on the part of the English bishops would have swept the entire Presbyterian party of England into the Established Church. One can readily understand that a man like Vesey, with such tendencies, could easily have been prevailed upon to see the advantages of combining the Presbyterian and Episcopal parties of the metropolis in one church organization.

We have another view of this event from an address of the friends of Gov. Hunter to the Lord Bishop of London (circa 1714):

"In the year 1697, Col. Fletcher, the Governor, by his example and countenance, promoted the building of Trinity Church in New York by voluntary contribution, and placed in it the present incumbent, Mr. Vesey, who was at that time a dissenting preacher on Long Island. He had received his education in Harvard College under that rigid Independent, Increase Mather, and was

* *Protestation*, N. Y., 1733.

sent from thence by *him* to confirm the minds of those who had removed for their convenience from New England to this province, for Mr. Mather having advice that there was a minister of the Established Church of England come over in quality of chaplain of the forces, and fearing that the Common Prayer and the hated ceremonies of our church might gain ground, he spared no pains and care to spread the warmest of his emissaries through this province, but Col. Fletcher, who saw into this design, took off Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this Living, a promise to advance his stipend considerably, and to recommend him for holy orders to your Lordship's predecessor, all of which was performed accordingly, and Mr. Vesey returned from England in Priest's orders." (*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III., p. 438.)

Whatever the motive of Vesey may have been, there can be no doubt that the mass of the English-speaking people of the metropolis were Presbyterian Puritans, and that he was called to be their pastor. The Church of England party consisted of a few new-comers in the army and civil government. Vesey betrayed the Presbyterians who had chosen him as their leader. We are not surprised that his treachery was in part successful. The Presbyterian vestrymen were not allowed to call another minister. In addition to the civil vestrymen of the act of 1693, an ecclesiastical vestry, composed of members of the Church of England, and chosen by members of the Church of England, was constituted by authority of the Governor.* The Presbyterians had nowhere else to worship in their own tongue, so that for several years many of them worshipped in Trinity Church. As the friends of Gov. Hunter say (1714), "We have yet no dissenting congregation in English in the town, which we fear makes ours larger than it would be if there was one." †

The Puritans enjoyed a brief rest under the adminis-

* *Doc. Hist., N. Y.* III., pp. 407 *seq.*

† *Doc. Hist.*, III., p. 444; C. W. Baird, *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1879, p. 605.

tration of the "kindlier" Earl of Bellamont, who arrived in 1696, but unfortunately he soon died, and was succeeded by the infamous Lord Cornbury, who "joined the worst form of arrogance to intellectual imbecility."*

The able, genial, and shrewd Col. Heathcote settled at Scarsdale Manor in Westchester County in 1692. He became colonel of militia of the county, and the most efficient advocate of the Church of England. He did more for its establishment in the province of New York than any one else, or indeed than all others combined. Heathcote tells us something of his own methods in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, April 10, 1704:

"The people of Westchester, Eastchester, and a place called Lower Yonkers, agreed with one Warren Mather, and the people of Rye, with one Mr. Woodbridge, both of New England, there being at that time scarce six in the whole county, who so much as inclined to the church. After Mather had been with them for some time, Westchester parish made choice of me for one of their church wardens, in hopes of using my interest with Col. Fletcher to have Mather inducted to the living. I told them it was altogether impossible for me to comply with their desires, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister who was not of the national church, and that it lay not in any Gov^s power to help them, but since they were so zealous for having religion and good order settled amongst 'em, I would propose a medium in that matter, which was, that there being at Boston, a French Protestant minister, Mr. Bondett, a very good man, who was in orders from my Lord of London, and could preach in English and French, and the people of New Rochelle being destitute of a minister, we would call Mr. Bondett to the living, and the parish being large enough to maintain two, we would likewise continue Mr. Mather, and support him by subscription. The vestry seemed to be extreamly well pleased with this proposal, and desired me to send for Mr. Bondett, which I immediately did, hop-

* Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, II., p. 41.

ing by that means to bring them over to the church, but Mather, apprehending what I aimed at, persuaded the vestry to alter their resolutions, and when he came they refused to call him, so that projection failing me, and finding that it was impossible to make any progress toward settling the church so long as Mather continued amongst us, I made it my business in the next place to devise ways to gett him out of the country, which I was not long in contriving, which being effected and having gained some few proselytes in every town, and those who were of the best esteem amongst 'em, who having none to oppose them, and being assisted by Mr. Vesey and Mr. Bondett, who very often preached in several parts of the country, baptizing the children, by easy methods the people were soon wrought into good opinion of the church, and indeed much beyond my expectations."

Thus the artful Col. Heathcote knew how to get rid of the faithful Puritan minister, and to gain over the unfaithful Vesey and Bondett, in order to accomplish his design of transferring the Puritan population into the bosom of the Church of England.

The first missionary, in New York, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was John Bartow, who was put in possession of the Puritan churches of Eastchester, Westchester, and Jamaica by the arbitrary power of Governor Cornbury. The Presbyterian ministers, Joseph Morgan of Westchester and John Hubbard of Jamaica, were forced to retire from their church buildings and parsonages. A letter of Mr. Bartow to the Secretary from Westchester, N. Y., December 1, 1707, gives a graphic representation of the struggle from his own partisan point of view. He says:

"After winter was over I lived at Col. Graham's, 6 miles from the church; and all the summer preached twice every Sunday, sometimes at Westchester and sometimes at Jamaica on Long Island about 2 miles distant from Mr. Graham . . . . and once I met with great disturbance at Jamaica. Mr. Hobbart their Presbyterian minister, having bin for some time at Boston returned to Jamaica the Saturday night as I came to it; and sent

to me at my lodgings (being then in company with our chief justice Mr. Mumpesson and Mr. Carter her Majst comptroller) to know if I intended to preach on the morrow? I sent him answer I did intend it. The next morning the bell rung as usual but before the last time of ringing Mr. Hobbart was got into the church and had begun his service, of which notice was given me, whereupon I went into the church and walked straightway to the pew, expecting Mr. Hobbart would desist, being he knew I had orders from the Governor to officiate there; but he persisted and I forebore to make any interruption. In the afternoon I prevented him; beginning the service of the church of England before he came; who was so surprised when after he came to the church desk and saw me performing divine service, that he suddenly started back and went aside to an orchard hard by; and sent in some to give the word that Mr. Hobbart would preach under a tree; when I perceived a whispering thro the church and an uneasiness of many people, some going out, some seemed amazed not yet determined to go or stay. In the meantime some that were gone out returned again for their seats, and then we had a shameful disturbance, hawling and jugging of seats; shoving one the other off, carrying them out and returning again for more so that I was fain to leave off till the disturbance was over and a separation made by which I lost about half of the congregation, the rest remaining devout and attentive the whole time of service, after which we lockt the church door and committed the key unto the hands of the sheriff. We were no sooner got into an adjoyning house but some persons came to demand the key of their meeting house, which being denyed they went and broke the glass window and put a boy in, to open the door, and put in their seats and took away the pew cushion, saying they would keep that honour for their own minister; the scolding and wrangling that ensued are by me ineffable. The next time, I saw my Lord Cornbury he thanked me, and said he would do the church and me justice, accordingly he summoned Mr. Hobbart and the head of the faction before him, and forbade Mr. Hobbart ever more to preach in that church for in regard it was built by a publick tax it did appertain to the established church, which it has quietly remained ever since and now in possession of our reverend brother Mr. Urquhart. My Lord Cornbury threatned them all with the penalty of the statute for disturbing divine service but upon their submission and promise

of future quietness and peace he pardoned the offense. Not long after this, my Lord requested me to go and preach at East Chester, accordingly I went (tho some there had given out threatning words should I dare to come) but tho I was there very early and the people had notice of my coming, the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Morgan had begun service in the meeting house, to which I went straitway and continued the whole time of service, without interruption, and in the afternoon I was permitted to perform the church of England service, Mr. Morgan being present and neither he nor the people seemed to be dissatisfied, and after some time of preaching there afterwards, they desired me to come oftener, and I concluded to minister there once a month, which now I have done for about three years, and Mr. Morgan is retired into New England."

Col. Heathcote represents that Joseph Morgan was ready to conform. But in this case he was hasty in judgment. Morgan was of tougher fibre than Vesey. He resisted all the influence brought to bear upon him, and remained faithful.* Mr. Hubbard continued the struggle at Jamaica for several years, preaching in barns and private houses.† The church at Rye was taken possession of by the Episcopal missionary Thomas Pritchard, and afterwards by Mr. Muirson; and John

* He was one of the earliest graduates of Yale College: was ordained by the ministers of Fairfield county, Conn.: became pastor of the church at Greenwich. Mather *Magnalia* I., p. 88 places him at Greenwich in 1696. He supplied all of the churches of Westchester county, except Rye. The church at Bedford called him December 26, 1699, and he remained there for a few months (Baird, *History of Bedford Church*, N. Y., 1882. p. 32). He removed to Freehold, N. J., in 1708, and labored for many years as a Presbyterian minister in connection with the Synod of Philadelphia. Morgan was an active, energetic minister, and at the same time gentle and tolerant. He cared more for the extension of Christ's kingdom than for "orders," whether derived from the Lord Bishop of London, or the Presbytery of Philadelphia, or the Fairfield ministers. In his old age he wrote a letter to the Secretary of the S. P. G., which will be found in Appendix XVII.

† It was not until the year 1727, after many years of strife and litigation, that the Presbyterians of Jamaica gained possession of their church building and other property which had been illegally and violently taken from them. It was at last restored by court of law.

Jones, Puritan pastor of Bedford, was forced to retire to Connecticut after arrest and reprimand before the Council.* It was also proposed to take possession of the Puritan churches of Suffolk county, but they were too distant from head-quarters and too strong to be overcome.†

The Dutch Reformed churches were too firmly rooted to be disturbed, and they used the Dutch language in worship; it was bad policy to disturb them. However, Henry Beyse, of West Farms, was induced by Col. Morris to conform to the Church of England and accept Episcopal ordination, in 1709.‡

The weaker French Reformed churches were the especial objects of attack. The earnest catechist, Elias Neau, an elder in the French church in New York City, who had been employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in mission-work among the negroes, was pressed to abandon his eldership and conform. This he did in 1704, after the death of his pastor; and he united with Trinity Church.§

After the adjournment of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, October 27, 1706, Francis Makemie took with him John Hampton and set out on a journey to Boston, probably to consult with the Boston ministers. They stopped at New York on their way. They were invited by the Puritans of the city to preach for them. The consistory of the Dutch Church, in accordance with their generous custom, offered their church edifice for the purpose. But their kindness was frustrated by the refusal of Governor Cornbury to permit it. Makemie,

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* C. W. Baird, *History of Bedford Church*, 1882, pp. 36 *seq.*

† See Appendix XVIII. for some documents illustrating the situation in the colony of New York at this time.

‡ Bolton, II., p. 319.

§ *Letter of Elias Neau to the Secretary of the S. P. G.*, November 6, 1704. Letter-Book *S. P. G.* (See also p. 155.)

therefore, preached January 20, 1706(7), in the private house of William Jackson, on Pearl Street.* William Jackson had been chosen vestryman for several years; he had taken part in calling Slade and Vesey as Puritans; he and the other Puritans of the metropolis were only waiting for an opportunity to secure a Puritan minister. On the same day, Hampton preached at Newtown on Long Island. On the following Tuesday, Makemie, with Hampton, went to Newtown to preach on the next day, according to appointment; but they were there arrested on a warrant from Governor Cornbury, on the ground that they had preached without his permission. They were detained until March 1st, when they were brought before the Supreme Court on the writ of *habeas corpus*.

The charge against Hampton was not pressed, but Makemie was released on bail to appear for trial June 3d. He immediately returned to Philadelphia with Hampton for the meeting of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, March 22, 1707. From thence he writes to Benjamin Colman, of Boston:

"Since our imprisonment we have commenced a correspondence with our Rev. Breth. of the ministry at Boston, which we hope according to our intention has been communicated to you all, whose sympathizing concurrence I cannot doubt of, in an expensive struggle, for asserting our liberty against the powerful invasion of Lord Cornbury, which is not yet over. I need not tell you of a pick[d] Jury, and the Penal laws, are invading our American sanctuary, without the least regard to the toleration, which should justly alarm us all." (See Appendix XIV.)

The New England ministers immediately wrote to Sir

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* This sermon was printed under the title: *A Good Conversation. A Sermon preached at the city of New York January 19th 1706, 7.* By Francis Makemie, Minister of the Gospel of Christ. Boston 1707. It was reprinted in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, III., 1870, p. 411.

Henry Ashurst, Sir Edmund Harrison, and other London agents, April 1, 1707:

"Except speedy relief be obtained, the issue will be, not only a vast oppression on a very worthy servant of God, but also a confusion upon the whole body of Dissenters in these colonies, where they are languishing under my Lord Cornbury's arbitrary and unaccountable government. We do therefore earnestly solicit you, that you would humbly petition the Queens majesty on this occasion, and represent the sufferings of the Dissenters in those parts of America which are carried on in so direct violation of her majesty's commands, of the laws of the nation, and the common rights of Englishmen." (Hutchinson, *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, 2d edition, London, 1768, II., p. 125.)

Makemie returned to New York, and sustained his trial. He was defended by three of the ablest lawyers in the Province—James Reigniere, David Jameson, and William Nicholl; and was acquitted on the ground that he had complied with the Toleration Act, and had acted within his rights as a Puritan minister. He produced his license to preach under the Toleration Act in Barbadoes, and this was recognized as valid throughout the Queen's dominions. The claim of Cornbury, that it was necessary that he should have a special license from the Governor of New York, was simply ridiculous. But notwithstanding his acquittal, Makemie was obliged to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as the defence, amounting to the large sum of £83 7*s.* 6*d.** This trial, followed by the bitter pursuit of the acquitted man on the part of the wrathful Governor, was the culmination

* *A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of Two Presbyterian Ministers; And Prosecution of Mr. Francis Makemie, one of them, for preaching one sermon at the city of New York.* By a Learner of Law, and Lover of Liberty, 1707. This edition was reprinted by Peter Force, *Tracts*, Washington, 1846, Vol. IV. Another edition was printed N. Y., 1755. This was republished by William Hill in the Appendix to *A History of the Rise, Progress, Genius, and Character of American Presbyterianism*, Washington City, 1839.

of a series of tyrannical acts which aroused the entire Puritan body of the colonies and of Great Britain to action. The arbitrary acts of Gov. Cornbury were indefensible. He had exceeded his prerogative, transgressed the provisions of the Toleration Act, and violated the liberties of the Dissenters, and indeed twisted and perverted the royal instructions to himself. He even intermeddled with the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and gained the hostility of all the better elements in the Church of England. The New York Assembly, in April, 1707, remonstrated against his actions; charged him with bribery, with encroachment on the liberties of the people; and finally expressed their determination to redress the miseries of their country.* He was recalled, and in 1709 Lord Lovelace took his place.

In the summer of this year the Huguenot church at New Rochelle, Westchester Co., was brought to conformity to the Church of England through the efforts of the pastor, Mr. Bondet, and Col. Heathcote. June 13th, the services of the Church of England were read for the first time, and Mr. Sharp, the chaplain of the British forces, preached. Col. Heathcote then proposed to the congregation that they conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, which "all who were present (the chief principal inhabitants)" did. Col. Heathcote writes that Mr. Bondet "may be a great means to influence the French congregation in New York, likewise to conform." † But it is evident that the majority of the congregation refused to follow the pastor and the "chief principal inhabitants" in conformity. They organized another congregation and continued to worship after their own customs.

* Bancroft, *History United States*, II., p. 42.

† Letters of Mr. Bartow and Col. Heathcote, June, 1709, *Letter Book*, *S. P. G.*

In 1710 Robert Hunter, "the ablest in the series of the royal governors of New York, a man of good temper and discernment," * became governor. Under his administration the tyranny ceased, and the struggle of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy in New York was left to its natural development.

In 1710 Makemie's friend, Geo. McNish, the Scotsman, went to Jamaica, and at once assumed the leadership of the Puritans in the Province of New York. He was called in a regular way, in accordance with the Act of 1693, by the church-wardens and Vestry of Jamaica. He was a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and the Jamaica church now became a part of the Presbytery. Mr. Poyer (missionary of the S. P. G.) was given possession of the church property by the authority of Gov. Hunter. But McNish carried on the battle with great ability. Gov. Hunter declined to put Poyer in possession of the parsonage. He and the chief-justice Mompesson, held "that it would be a high crime and a misdemeanor" to do this save by due course of law. His moderation displeased Poyer, Vesey, Bartow, and Thomas, who had become accustomed to the arbitrary measures of Cornbury, and they complained to the Bishop of London; but the laymen, Col. Heathcote and Col. Morris, and the good chaplain, Sharp, sustained the Governor, and placed themselves on the side of justice and right. Col. Morris, in his letter of February 20, 1711, comparing the strength of Puritans and Churchmen, says:

"There is no comparison in our numbers; and they can, on the death of the Incumbent, call persons of their own persuasion in every place but the city of New York. . . . . I believe at this day the church had been in much better condition, had there been no act in her favour; for in the Jersies and Pennsylvania,

* Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, II., p. 44.

where there is no act in her favour, there are four times the number of churchmen that there are in the Province of New York, and they are so most of them upon principle. Whereas nine parts in ten of ours will add no credit to whatever church they are of."

Col. Heathcote says in his letter February 11, 1711:

"Many of the instruments made use of to settle the church at Jamaica, in its infancy, were of such warm tempers, and, if report is true, so indifferent in their morals, that, from the first beginning, I never expected it would be settled with much peace or reputation."

McNish became a tower of strength, about which the Puritans of the Province of New York rallied. The case of the Jamaica church became a matter of interest to the Puritans of New England and Old England; and they united their efforts in its behalf. The Rev. Thomas Reynolds, of London, writes to Cotton Mather, June 9, 1715:

"I must now acquaint you that Mr. McNish has not been forgotten by me, who have upon all occasions endeavoured, to solicit the concern of the foreign plantations, and have stirred up my brethren to counteract the designs of the missionaries. Endeavours have been used and much time spent for this purpose. I am sorry to say it has not been with that success as has been wished. I formerly gave you an account of this affair. And I must now with sorrow of heart tell that the society are not without hopes of gaining bishops to be sent unto his majesty's plantations.

"We are attempting afresh to represent the case to the Society. I am directed to write to you and acquaint you that we think it would be of service to have some person or persons sent over on purpose to represent to the Govt. the state of affairs with respect to the missionaries. I desire you will please acquaint Mr. McNish and that you will take this matter into your consideration. If Mr. McNish or any other can send any thing that may afford matter of further remonstrance to the Society, we pray he will do it with all expedition, and with authentic testimonials." (*Mather MSS., Amer. Antiquarian Society.*)

McNish contemplated going to London himself, but the growth of the church on Long Island, and the interests of Presbyterianism in New York detained him. With the accession of the House of Hanover in 1714, persecution of Puritans in America ceased.

V.—THE GROWTH OF THE PRESBYTERY.

The Presbytery only gradually learned to improve its internal organization, to exercise discipline, and to take episcopal oversight over its churches. The ministers constituting it were of many lands and types; they could agree only in a loosely organized body. It was composed of ministers, some of whom were pastors, some missionaries; some entirely devoted to the work of the ministry, and others, as Francis Makemie and Samuel Davis, supporting themselves in business pursuits.

It seems to have been the custom for a while that elders or lay commissioners from the churches (we cannot be sure in all cases which they were), were admitted to Presbytery only as companions of ministers. In 1716 an elder was for the first time allowed to sit in the absence of his minister.* In 1714 it was, for the first, ordered that sessional records be kept, to be revised by the Presbytery; but some of the churches declined to do this, and persisted in their course until the opening of the present century.† Some of the churches continued without a bench of elders for a considerable time. The Presbytery was also incapable of strong discipline;

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* Sept. 18, 1716, "Mr. Edmundson being present as a representative of the congregation of Patuxent, and their minister absent, it was put to vote, whether the said Mr. Edmundson should act as a representative notwithstanding the ministers absence, and carried in the affirmative *nemine contradicente*." (*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Philadelphia, 1841, p. 42.)

† *Records*, p. 37.

and when their ministers retired to distant parts, they were simply stricken from the roll.*

The Presbytery attracted the attention of the Puritan churches in New Jersey. The first of these to attach themselves to the Presbytery was Freehold. The first ordination of the Presbytery was at this place.† The second church which applied to it was Cohanzy. Thomas Bridge, the first pastor, had retired to Boston. In May, 1708, Joseph Smith, a probationer from New England, was received by the Presbytery, and a committee appointed to ordain him and install him at Cohanzy.‡

At the same meeting of Presbytery the church at Woodbridge appealed to the Presbytery to help them in their differences with their pastor, Mr. Wade. Nathaniel Wade had been ordained in Connecticut. He was sent to Woodbridge by the Connecticut ministers, and a church was gathered there Jan. 29, 1707(8). But the people were displeased with their pastor.

The Presbytery accordingly wrote to the Connecticut ministers, May 24, 1708:

"We, the ministers of the Gospel of the Presbyterian persuasion in this province and those adjacent . . . . formed ourselves into a Presbytery, annually to be convened for the furthering and promoting of the true interests of religion and godliness. In which our undertaking, as we would not have anything should be advanced that may be justly disgustful to any pious soul, but on the contrary, so it is our universal desire to walk in the near-

* Paulus Van Vleck, a Dutch Reformed minister, was received into the Presbytery in 1710, but it was soon learned that he was a bigamist. "Drunkenness, swearing, and light carriage were fastened on him." There was a committee on his case until he ran away in 1715, when his name was dropped from the roll. He had been suspended, but the Presbytery did not proceed to trial and excommunication.

† See p. 140.

‡ Joseph Smith was born at Hadley, Mass., in 1674, graduated from Harvard in 1695, settled at Brookfield, Mass., as licentiate, and came from thence to Cohanzy through the influence of his classmate, Jedediah Andrews.

est union and fellowship with the churches in those parts where you inhabit, not knowing any difference in opinion so weighty as to inhibit such a proposal, not doubting of your cordial assent thereto." (*Records*, p. 13.)

The result of the correspondence was that Wade became a member of the Presbytery in 1710. But the difficulties were not removed. A considerable number of the people went over to the Church of England, and these in 1711 requested Mr. Vaughan, the Episcopal missionary at Elizabethtown, to help them, and they placed a house at his disposal. Accordingly monthly services of the Church of England were speedily established, and a church was built there. Thus the Puritan flock was enfeebled, and it remained destitute of a pastor for some years, notwithstanding the joint efforts of the Presbytery and Cotton Mather to give them an acceptable pastor.

In 1709, Joseph Morgan* removed to Freehold and settled there. He was received into the Presbytery in September, 1710. The churches at Elizabethtown and Newark remained apart. They both about this time secured new pastors. Sept. 29, 1709, Jonathan Dickinson† was ordained at Elizabethtown, and in the autumn of 1710 Nathaniel Bowers was installed pastor at Newark.

The Presbytery in 1710 took under their care David Evans, a Welshman, as a candidate for the ministry. After guiding his education for several years, they finally in 1714 ordained him and installed him over a church in the Welsh tract near Philadelphia. He was the first and the only student for the ministry under the care of the Presbytery, until the organization of the Synod. This was the feeble beginning of all the theological education of the American Presbyterian Church.

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* See p. 151.

† He was born at Hatfield, Mass., and he graduated at Yale College in 1706.

In 1715, Samuel Pumroy, of Newtown, Long Island, was received into the Presbytery, the first of a large number of Puritan ministers who would ere long embrace the entire Puritan strength of New York and New Jersey in the American Presbyterian Church.*

VI.—THE PRESBYTERY AIDED FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

The organization of the Presbytery of Philadelphia enabled the Puritan ministers and churches of the Middle colonies to act in concert, and to combine their energies for the erection of new churches and supplying them with ministers. But the Presbytery was too feeble to do all this work of itself. It was dependent upon the New England colleges for ministers. But it soon became evident that a sufficient supply could not be obtained from this source. Therefore it became the chief business of the Presbytery to secure aid in ministers and in funds from Great Britain, and to direct this aid into its appropriate channels. The Presbytery of Philadelphia was essentially a missionary Presbytery. Francis Makemie, by order of Presbytery, wrote a letter March 26, 1708, to Alexander Coldin, minister of Oxam, Presbytery of Jedburgh, Scotland, to signify the desire of the people about Lewistown that he should come over and be their minister.† In 1709 a letter was written to Sir Edmund Harrison, of London, a Presbyterian layman

* Pumroy was born at Northampton, Mass., Sept. 16, 1687, graduated at Yale College in 1705; was ordained at Northampton Nov. 30, 1709, and settled at Newtown.

† Alexander Coldin was minister at Enniscorthy, in the South of Ireland, of Dublin Presbytery. He was reported to the General Assembly of Scotland as one of those obliged to leave Ireland in March, 1689. He was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh in 1675. He was admitted to the Presbytery of Jedburgh August 7, 1690, was transferred to Dunse in 1693, and from Dunse to Oxam in 1700, where he remained until his death in 1738. (Hugh Scott, *Fasti.*, I., pp. 408 and 511.)

of well-known benevolence and extensive influence.* It was to accompany a letter of Cotton Mather and the Boston ministers, who interceded with the London ministers to help the infant Presbytery. The letter calls attention to the aid given to Makemie in sending Hampton and McNish and supporting them for two years. It also refers to the original plan of sending two additional itinerants every two years. This had been neglected. The letter urged the revival of the plan:

"Unto whom can we apply ourselves more fitly than unto our fathers, who have been extolled in the Reformed churches for their large bounty and benevolence in their necessities? We doubt not, but if the sum of about 200 pounds per annum, were raised for the encouragement of ministers in these parts, it would enable ministers and people to erect eight congregations, and ourselves put in better circumstances than hitherto we have been. We are at present seven ministers, most of whose outward affairs are so straitened as to crave relief, unto which if two or three more were added, it would greatly strengthen our interest, which does miserably suffer, as things at present are among us. Sir, if we shall be supplied with ministers from you, which we earnestly desire; with your benevolence to the value abovesaid, you may rest assured of our fidelity and Christian care in distributing it to the best ends and purposes we can, so as we hope we shall be able to give a just and fair account of every part of it to yourself and others by our letters to you. It is well known what advantages the missionaries from England have of us, from the settled fund of their Church, which not only liberally supports them here, but encourages so many insolences both against our persons and interests, which sorrowfully looking on we cannot but lament and crave your remedy." (*Records*, p. 16.)

Indeed the London ministers had not forgotten the plan. Their attention had been called to another colony, that of South Carolina, where Puritanism was in sharp

* He was one of the managers of the Presbyterian Fund from 1694–97; and was also a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. See p. 154.

conflict with Episcopacy. Archibald Stobo, the Scotsman, continued to be pastor of the Presbyterian church in Charleston until 1707.* There was but one other Presbyterian minister in the colony at that date, Joseph Lord, of Dorchester.† Stobo was a very zealous Scotsman, and in 1706 pressed his people to sign a covenant, which made him somewhat unpopular. The Presbyterian ministers of London were appealed to for more ministers for South Carolina. William Pollock and William Livingston came to London and received aid from the Presbyterian Fund, and went to Carolina in 1706.‡ When Livingston arrived he became pastor of the church at Charleston, and Stobo removed to Willtown, in Carleton county. The Presbyterian force was thus increased to four: three Scotsmen and one New England man. The chief places of Presbyterianism at this time were Charleston and James Island. In 1708 one-half of the total population of Charleston (150 out of 300 adults other than Indian and negro) were Presbyterian, and nearly all of the fifty families of James Island also; and yet the Church of England claimed to be the established Church, and was sustained by parish rates assessed upon the entire population.§ In 1710 there

* See p. 129. † See p. 128.

‡ William Pollock graduated at the University of Edinburgh June 24, 1699, and William Livingston, April 29, 1701. The MS. Minutes of the Presbyterian Fund of London record, April 9, 1706, that Mr. Reynolds proposed a present supply for Mr. Livingston and Mr. Pollock, who have gone to Carolina to settle there. It was proposed to give them £5 each.

§ Considerable light is thrown upon the situation in South Carolina by some letters of the missionaries of the S. P. G. given in the Appendix XIX. But we may call attention here to a letter of Cotton Mather to Principal Sterling in 1715. He says: "The considerable colony of Carolina as I am informed by three worthy Scottish ministers refugees from thence now sojourning in my next neighbourhood, was in a fair way to be a religious country under the influence of Presbyterian ministers, who were the salt of these places. But the missionaries of the church of England no sooner arrived there, than a torrent of wickedness broke in on them and carried all before it." To this Mather attributes the dev-

were five British Presbyterian ministers,* Mr. Taylor having arrived from New England for the church at Charleston.

The appeal of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, through Sir Edmund Harrison, was not successful at this time. It was not easy to secure ministers for the colonies. The Presbytery was, however, strengthened in 1710 by the arrival of two able men, John Henry from the Presbytery of Dublin, and James Anderson from the Synod of Glasgow.†

These came probably in response to private appeals. They brought with them the sympathy of influential men in Ireland and Scotland. Mr. Henry became the successor of Makemie at Rehoboth, and the heir of his influence in Ireland. Mr. Anderson succeeded John Wilson at Newcastle.‡

Mr. Henry received a letter soon after his arrival, dated Nov., 1709, from the Rev. Alexander Sinclair, minister of the Plunket street church, Dublin, desiring correspondence and an account of ecclesiastical affairs, and giving assurances of financial help.§

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astating Indian war and the large number of refugees of ministers and people. But the Scottish ministers soon after returned to their flocks.

* *Letter from South Carolina* June 1, 1710. (See Hodge, *Constitutional History*, I., 73.)

† John Henry is probably the one who graduated at the University of Edinburgh February 24, 1703; and James Anderson one of the two registered at the University of Glasgow March 18, 1700, one of the 3d class, the other of the 4th class.

‡ See Appendix XX. for several important letters of Anderson.

§ Alexander Sinclair was an influential man at this time. We have met him as taking an active part in the establishment of the General Fund. (Appendix XV.) He was born at Belfast in or about 1658, educated at Belfast, licensed by the meeting of Antrim about 1680, and came to Dublin as private chaplain. He was sent to Waterford, in the South of Ireland, as a supply. He was persecuted by the authorities, but appealed to Lord Clarendon, and was protected. The congregation was organized, and he was ordained by some of the neighboring ministers in 1686–7. During the revolution he fled to Bristol, England. He be-

It is probable that it was in the mind of Sinclair to aid the American Presbytery from the resources of the General Fund about to be established,* or at least from the fountains of benevolence which originated that fund and other deeds of kindness and help to struggling ministers and churches.

Mr. Henry was directed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia to reply as follows:

"The Presbytery met at Philadelphia, to the reverend Presbytery of Dublin wisheth grace, mercy, and peace (the bond of fellowship), and prosperity in the Gospel of the Lord Jesus. . . . . Our late Rev. Brother, Mr. Francis McKemie, prevailed with the ministers of London to undertake the support of two itinerants for the space of two years, and after that time to send two more upon the same condition, allowing the former after that time to settle, which, if accomplished, had proved of more than credible advantage to these parts, considering how far scattered most of the inhabitants be. But alas, they drew back their hand, and we have reason to lament their deficiency. Had our friends at home been equally watchful and diligent as the Episcopal Society at London, our interest in most foreign plantations probably might have carried the balance. In all Virginia there is but one small congregation, at Elizabeth River, and some few families favoring our way in Rappahanock and York. In Maryland only four, in Pennsylvania five, and in the Jerseys two, which bounds with some places in New York, make up all the bounds we have any members from, and at present some of these be vacant. . . . . That then, Reverend and dear Brethren, which at present we would humbly, for the sake of Christ's interest, make the subject of our address unto you is, that of your zealous Christian and religious charity to the mystical body of the

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came pastor at Plunket street in 1692, and remained until his death in 1723. He was moderator of the Synod of Ulster in 1704. (See Boyse, *Works*, II., p. 148, London, 1728; and especially James Armstrong, *Sermon and charge at the ordination of James Martineau to the co-pastoral office over the congregation of Eustace Street, Dublin, with an Appendix containing a summary history of the Presbyterian churches in the city of Dublin;* Dublin, 1829, pp. 91 *seq.*)

* See Appendix XV.

blessed Jesus, you would raise one sixty pound to support an able well-approved of young man from yourselves as an itinerant in these parts, among the dispersed children of God for a year, after which time we doubt not but he may be settled comfortably. This we have used our interest in London for, in the hands of Rev. Mr. Calamy, which we expect, according to promise from the Rev. Mr. Sinclare, you will use yours also to forward." (*Records*, p. 20.)

The recognition of such a body of ministers as the Presbytery of Dublin, as a Presbytery, shows that the Presbytery of Philadelphia was not composed of *strict* Presbyterians. Their notions of church government were such as recognized mixed bodies as Presbyteries. This confirms what we have already noted, that they were very much such a body themselves. They were now anxious to secure aid from the mild Presbyterians of Dublin, as they had already received it from the broad and tolerant Presbyterians of London, and welcomed it from Cotton Mather and the Boston divines, Davenport and the Connecticut ministers.

Indeed the relations between the Presbytery of Dublin and the Synod of Ulster, at this time, were most intimate. There was constant correspondence and co-operation without organic union. Mr. Sinclair claimed to be a member of the Synod of Ulster, without being attached to any of its Presbyteries, and at the same time a member of the Presbytery of Dublin.*

* At this time Alexander Sinclair was in conflict with the Synod of Ulster. He claimed to belong to the Synod, and not to any of its Presbyteries. He had been assigned to the Presbytery of Belfast without his consent. He maintained the identity of elders and deacons, and was censured for this by the Presbytery of Belfast in 1709. He appealed to the General Synod in 1710, but did not receive their support. However, the matter was not carried further with regard to elders and deacons; but his relation to the Synod and the Presbytery of Dublin was the source of difficulty for some time. The Synod declined to relieve him and the Plunket street church of their responsibility to the Presbytery of Belfast. But Sinclair and his church declined to recognize any other Presbyterial authority than that of the Presbytery of Dublin. In 1711 the Synod of

This appeal to the Presbytery of Dublin cannot be directly traced to immediate results. The records are unfortunately lost. But it is evident from the minutes of the Synod of Ulster that efforts were made to send missionaries to the Presbytery of Philadelphia.*

At the same time a letter was addressed to the Synod of Glasgow by the hands of John Wilson and James

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Ulster proposed to erect a new Presbytery of Tara Hill as a compromise, but it was not accepted. The matter was still unadjusted in 1714, when Mr. Boyse wrote to the Synod that "the Plunket street congregation are generally satisfied to be subject to the Dublin Presbytery, as also to be subject to the General Synod." The Synod of Ulster and the Presbytery of Dublin combined in the installation of ministers over these mixed churches. (See *MS. Minutes of Synod of Ulster*, 1710-1714.)

* Minutes of Synod, June, 1712, 12th Session, contain the following record: "Tis overtured that some fit person be thought of to go to Pennsylvania. This Com. names Mr. Holmes the probationer as a fit person if he can be prevailed with to go; and for an advancing the sum of 20 pound for defraying his expenses; that the moderator of this Synod with Mr. Abernethy and Mr. Gowan be desired to use the utmost of their interest and endeavours with the recommendation of this Synod to persons of a publick and generous spirit for procuring contributions towards the same." June, 1713, Sess. III.: "Mr. Robert Holmes Probationer chosen by last Synod to go to Philadelphia (upon application made to us for that purpose) is dead, and Mr. Kirkpatrick reports that for that reason and some accounts he had from Dublin that the members of the Presbytery of Philadelphia were supplied with some other ministers since the said application made to us, and our former appointment that some brethren should use diligence to get up the 20 pounds recommended to be raised for that particular service made noe progress in it, for which reasons the said brethren were excused." The explanation of this cessation of effort on the part of the Synod of Ulster is that the Dublin ministers reported the sending out of Robert Lawson and Daniel McGill by the London ministers (see p. 170) and also the efforts made in the Synod of Glasgow (see p. 169) resulting in the sending of Robert Witherspoon. It is also probable that Thomas Bratton, who arrived in Maryland in the autumn of 1711, was sent out by the Dublin ministers. We find a Thomas Bratten entered as a student of the University of Glasgow in the 3d class, March 3, 1701, as Scoto-Hibernus. He sent to the Presbytery of Philadelphia a "certificate of his legal admission to the ministry," and was called to Manokin and Wicomico, but he died Oct., 1712, before he could settle. In 1715 Robert Orr came from Ireland and preached to the congregation at Maidenhead and Hopewell, N. J., and he was ordained Oct. 20, 1715. A Robert Orr, Scoto-Hibernus, is entered at the University of Glasgow, Feb. 25, 1703. The General Synod of Ulster in 1712 declined by a large majority to employ one Robert Orr within their limits, but without reasons. This is probably the same man.

Anderson. This was also in response to an inquiry of the Rev. James Brown of Glasgow, probably addressed to Anderson. James Brown was now a Glasgow pastor. He had been a minister in New England, and was a friend and correspondent of Cotton Mather. He naturally took a great interest in the infant Presbytery: *

"The number of our ministers from the respective provinces is ten in all, three from Maryland, five from Pennsylvania, and two from New Jersey. And we are in great expectation that some other places may be encouraged to join us hereafter. We have thought good further to represent to the Rev. Synod, the desolate condition of sundry vacant places who have applied to us for a supply of ministers, who express their Christian desire of enjoying the public administration of the gospel purely, but to their and our grief they are not in a capacity to provide a competent maintenance for the support of ministers without being beholden to the Christian assistance of others, at least for some time. We are sorry in our present circumstances we can neither answer their request by supplying them with ministers, nor contributing toward their outward support, some of ourselves being considerably straitened. May it therefore please the pious and Rev. Synod, in compassion to the desolate souls in America, perishing for want of vision, to send over one or more ministers, and to support them for longer or shorter time. We further represent that according to the best of our judgment, forty pounds sterling annually paid in Scotland, to be transmitted in goods, will be a competency for the support of each minister you send, provided that of your pious and Christian benevolence you suitably fit them out. And after they have here labored in the Lord's vineyard a year or two, we are in good hopes that they will find such comfortable encouragement as may induce them to settle among us, without giving you further trouble for their support." (*Records*, pp. 20, 21.)

This letter was presented to the Synod of Glasgow by James Brown, April 3, 1711, and produced a powerful effect. April 5th it was resolved that the Commissioners

* See p. 130.

of the Synod carry the matter to the General Assembly, "it being a matter that concerns the whole Church." But the Assembly's Committee on Overtures decided that it was not wise at that juncture to bring it before the Assembly. Accordingly, Oct. 2d, the Synod reconsidered the matter, and referred to the several Presbyteries to see what they were willing to contribute "in making up a fund in order to sending of one or more ministers to those parts." The next day the several Presbyteries reported contributions amounting to £538 scots, and a treasurer, Mr. Gray, was appointed to receive these and further contributions. April 1, 1712, the Presbytery of Glasgow reported that they had "pitched upon one Robert Donaldson preacher of the gospel who is ready to go to Pennsylvania upon the first occasion," and the treasurer was directed to pay him £40. But for some unknown reason he failed to go. In the next year, April 7, 1713, the Presbytery of Glasgow reported that "they had sent Robert Witherspoon to Pennsylvania to labour in the work of the gospel in those parts, and they gave him £40 sterling to fitt him out conformable to the Synod's order."* Robert Witherspoon was received by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and after examination by a committee, was ordained and installed as pastor at Apoquinimy, May, 1714.

At the same time with these letters the moderator, George McNish, by order of the Presbytery, wrote a letter to Dr. Tong,† one of the most influential ministers

* See MS. Minutes of Synod of Glasgow. Robert Witherspoon is entered as a student of the University of Glasgow, March 1, 1697, and in the Faculty of Theology, Oct. 18, 1700.

† Dr. Tong (spelled Tongue in the Records of the Presbytery) was pastor of the Presbyterian church of Salter's Hall. "He was a minister of considerable qualifications and ministerial abilities. He was greatly useful in his day, and preserved a large congregation, which was the richest in London. For many years their contributions for country ministers exceeded any other, and is very

of London. The letter has been lost. It was doubtless to the same effect as the others: an appeal for men and for money. There seems to have been a well-devised plan to have the Presbyterians of London, Dublin, and Glasgow support each an itinerant. The appeal to London met with great success. No less than four ministers were sent forth from thence in response, two by the Presbyterians and two by the Congregationalists.

Robert Lawson* and Daniel McGill† came over from London, 1712, with a letter from Thomas Reynolds,‡ pledging thirty pounds for the year. A letter of thanks was returned by the Presbytery, asking him to continue his favors. One-third of the thirty pounds went to the church at Philadelphia, one-third to the church at Newcastle, and one-third to Robert Lawson.

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large, if not the largest still. Mr. Tongue had a large share in their esteem, and for many years obtained from them considerable gifts for poor ministers and congregations, as well as private Christians in distress." (*Extracts from the History of Protestant Dissenting Congregations*, 1772, *MSS. III.*, Dr. Williams' Library, London.)

* Robert Lawson graduated from the University of Edinburgh July 3, 1693; was called to the Torthorwald church of the Presbytery of Dumfries, Scotland, and ordained April 28, 1696; demitted August 14, 1701 (Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*, II., 602), and went to London. November 3, 1712, the Presbyterian Fund of London gave him an allowance of £5. April 5, 1714, they agreed that "£8 be allowed to Mr. Robert Lawson gone abroad to America at the desire of the Board, for the support of his family here, to be paid to Mr. Reynolds." (See *MS. Minutes of the Presbyterian Fund.*) He was received by the Presbytery of Philadelphia September 15, 1712. He was called to Monakin, but died in November before he could be settled.

† Daniel McGill was graduated from the University of Edinburgh July 7, 1694. He came over with Lawson, and was received by the Presbytery as an ordained minister at the same time with Lawson. He seems to have had private business of some advantage to him. This he abandoned and became pastor at Patuxent in 1714.

‡ "Mr. Reynolds was a remarkable pleader for the cause and interest of Christ and especially for poor ministers in the country and God gave him in a liberal manner the hearts and purses of his people (Eastcheap chapel), they making the largest collection of any congregation in London (Salter's Hall excepted) for many years." (*History of Protestant Dissenting Congregations in London, MSS. III.*, Dr. Williams' Library, London.)

Howell Powell * and Malachi Jones † came from London to organize Congregational churches in Pennsylvania. They were Welsh Congregationalists, and doubtless were sent over by the Congregational Fund of London in the interests of Congregationalism in the Middle colonies. They both soon abandoned the effort to organize Congregationalism as distinct from Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania and Maryland; and desired admission into the American Presbytery, which was broad and tolerant and catholic enough to receive them and their people.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia was also strengthened by the accession of George Gillespie. He was received as a probationer from Scotland September 15, 1712, and was ordained and installed at White Clay Creek May 28, 1713.‡ John Bradner was also received as a student

* Howell Powell was settled as pastor of a Welsh Congregational church in South Wales, and as such received aid from the Congregational Fund of London. (According to the *MS. Minutes* May 3, 1703, he received £5, July 3, 1704, £5.) He settled at Chestertown, Maryland, and formed a Congregational church. (Webster, p. 345.) He offered himself for admittance to the Presbytery of Philadelphia September 16, 1713. "The Presbytery was so well satisfied with what was offered in his behalf with respect to his ordination, &c., that it was agreed to admit him as a member, with advice to him to procure further credentials from some eminent ministers in England known to some of the members of the Presbytery, within a year's time, and that till then it shall be free to him to exercise his ministry in all its parts where Providence shall call him, but not fully to settle as a fixed minister until the expiration of the said time." (*Records*, p. 33.) September 20, 1715, the Presbytery recorded its satisfaction with his further credentials, and he was settled at Cohanzy October 14, 1715. (*Records*, p. 38.)

† Malachi Jones was settled in Herefordshire, Wales, where he was aided by the Congregational Fund of London April 12, 1697; July 17, 1700; May 3, 1703; April 10, 1704. (See *MS. Minutes.*) He came to Pennsylvania and organized a Congregational church at Abingdon, eleven miles from Philadelphia, in 1714. He and the church soon went over to Presbyterianism. He was cordially received by the Presbytery of Philadelphia September 8, 1714. (*Records*, p. 37.)

‡ He is entered in the University of Glasgow March 18, 1700, in the fourth class, and is registered in the divinity class February 24, 1704. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow, and came to New England in 1712 with letters from Principal Sterling to Cotton Mather. Mather recommended him to the distracted congregation at Woodbridge, N. J., but his settlement there was impracticable.

from Scotland. He was taken on trial and licensed March, 1714, and ordained May 6, 1715, to Cape May church.* The interest in the American Presbytery continued to increase in Scotland and in London. An inef fectual effort was made by the Synod of Glasgow, in 1715, to secure a probationer and ordain him for missions to Pennsylvania.†

October 6, 1719, the Presbytery reported that "no probationer had offered since the last Synod that will goe in mission to Pa.; and that they have laid out that money on interest at four per cent., that was to be given for the encouragement of such."

The London ministers were more successful in their efforts. In 1715, Hugh Conn‡ came from London with letters from Thomas Reynolds. He was received by the Presbytery as a probationer September 20th, and, having been called by the people of Baltimore county, Maryland, he was ordained October 3d. Reynolds sent a message by Conn that he would continue his gifts, and the Presbytery wrote him a letter of thanks.

Thus the churches of Great Britain rendered effectual aid to the first American Presbytery From Scotland

* He graduated from the University of Edinburgh April 17, 1712.

† April 7, 1715, the Presbytery of Glasgow reported "that they had received a letter from the Presbytery of Pa. in America and that they had selected Mr. John Reid a probationer to be transported to these parts. The Synod appointed the treasurer to give out to the person who shall go the £12 sterling in his hands, and the Synod recommended it to the several Presbyteries to consider what they will further contribute. The Presbytery of Glasgow was directed to ordain Mr. Reid before he goe. Oct. 2, 1716, the Synod appointed collectors in each Presbytery to collect 2 shillings of each minister for the work in Pa. For some unknown reason Mr. Reid did not go and it does not appear that any other was sent in his place. April 8th, 1719, Mr. Gray reported £21 17/ sterling in hand and the Synod appointed it to lay out at interest until a probationer could be found to go to America." There were funds, but no men.

‡ Conn is entered at the University of Glasgow as Scoto-Hibernus in the 2d class March 1, 1706. Webster represents that he was born in Macgilligan, in Ireland. (In *l. c.*, p. 351.)

came, through private sources, Boyd, Anderson, Gillespie, and Bradner; the Synod of Glasgow sent Witherspoon; the London ministers, Lawson and McGill. These, added to McNish, the original member of the Presbytery from Scotland, made eight Scottish ministers in all.

From Ireland came Henry of the Presbytery of Dublin, and probably Bratton also. Conn was sent by the London ministers. Orr came probably on his own responsibility. These, added to the three Irish original members of the Presbytery, made seven Irish ministers in all. From Wales came two Congregational ministers, Powell and Jones, and one student, David Evans, trained by the Presbytery itself, or three Welshmen in all. From New England came Jos. Smith, Wade, Morgan, and Pumroy, besides the original members of the Presbytery, Andrews, Wilson, Taylor, or seven in all. This was truly a combination of Presbyterianism of various types. The problem before them was either to sink differences in a new and broader American type; or contend for national and partisan types of Presbyterianism, and separate into hostile organizations. The first Presbytery was happily united from the beginning of its history until it grew to such a size as to divide itself into Presbyteries and assume the form of an American Synod. The Presbyterians of the original Presbytery were all of the broad, generous, tolerant type, such as we might expect from a happy union of English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh Presbyterianism.

CHAPTER V.

THE SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA, 1717–1729.

THE Presbytery of Philadelphia continued to increase in numbers by receiving ministers from various parts, who supplied the large number of churches which sprang up rapidly among the emigrants flocking into the colonies from Europe. The ministers had increased from seven to seventeen, and the extensive region over which they were scattered justified the organization of a Synod, with subordinate Presbyteries. In 1716, the Presbytery divided itself "into subordinate meetings, or Presbyteries," three in number, composed of ministers whose names were indicated in the resolution. At the same time they resolved:

"In consideration that only our brethren Mr. McNish and Mr. Pumry, are of our number upon Long Island at present, we earnestly recommend it to them to use their best endeavors with the neighboring brethren that are settled there, which as yet join not with us, to join with them in erecting a fourth Presbytery." (*Records*, p. 46.)

Thus the idea of *meeting of ministers* still predominates over the idea of Presbyteries. They adhere to the Irish model.

I.—THE SYNOD'S "FUND FOR PIOUS USES."

At the first meeting of the Synod in 1717 a "fund for pious uses" was founded, and Jedediah Andrews was appointed treasurer. This was the basis of all the schemes of missionary enterprise which have arisen from

time to time in the American Presbyterian Church. The Fund received great encouragement and help by a large contribution from Scotland. This was due chiefly to the earnest efforts of James Anderson.

August 1, 1716, James Anderson, of Newcastle, wrote an urgent appeal, through Principal Sterling, to the Synod of Glasgow, for a general Sabbath-day's collection for the help of the American Synod.*

This letter was read before the Synod of Glasgow April 5, 1717; and the Synod appointed a Sabbath-day's collection for the third Sabbath of August of that year, which amounted to £3,406 scots 2/3. The amount gradually increased until 1719, when the Synod transmitted to Anderson £305 14/6 sterling in goods, and £7 18/6 sterling in money, by the ship "Brothers of White Haven," freight free.† The goods and funds arrived safe-

* See Appendix XX. for the letter.

† The minutes of the Synod of Glasgow contain the following records with reference to this noble gift: April 5, 1717, a letter was received from James Anderson at Newcastle, Delaware, "representing the encouraging progress of the gospel in those parts by the ministry of several of our countrymen," asking a Sabbath-day's collection in the Synod of Glasgow to be sent to the Presbytery in Pennsylvania. The Synod did then appoint a Sabbath-day's collection on the third Sabbath of August, and appointed James Clark, minister in Glasgow, to receive the funds collected, and send them to James Anderson for the Presbytery in Pa., "to be managed by them for encouraging ministers to preach the gospel among the poor of God in these parts." October 8, 1718, James Clark reported £3406 scots 2/3 as collected in the several parishes. April 7, 1719, the Synod was asked whether the funds should be transmitted in money or goods, and the latter was determined upon. (See Appendix XX. for the letter of Anderson to Principal Sterling, recommending that the funds should be sent in goods.) October 6, 1719, Mr. Clark reported £245 scots 8/ additional since last report. The Presbytery of Glasgow reported a letter from the Synod in Pa., signed by James Anderson and George McNish, containing full acknowledgments to the Synod for their concern beyond others for them in those parts, gave hopeful prospects and directed as to the best way of transmitting the money in goods, books, &c. (See Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia in *Records*, p. 54.) The Presbytery informed the Synod that with the advice of intelligent merchants in Glasgow they had turned the money collected into goods. The Synod appointed James Clark, John Hamilton, and Robert Miller to draw up a letter to that Synod in answer to theirs. April 5, 1720, the Pres-

ly in the winter of 1719–20. The Synod of Philadelphia, September 17, 1719, appointed a "Committee to consider of the fund"; and they recommended that "a tenth part of the neat produce of the Glasgow collection be given to the Presbyterian congregation of New York toward the support of the gospel among them," and a committee was appointed to receive the goods, dispose of them, and put the funds out at interest. At the same time an annual collection was ordered "in every particular congregation, for pious uses," to be sent to the Committee on the Fund. Thus the Glasgow collection was a stimulus to an annual collection in the Synod of Phila delphia. Sept. 28, 1720, the Synod appointed Mr. McGill and Mr. Young to "write a letter to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and another to Mr. Sterling, Principal of the College of Glasgow, in answer to theirs, representing the hearty thanks of this Synod for their kindness to the interests of religion in these wilderness parts."

II.—THE PURITANS OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY UNITE WITH THE SYNOD.

It now became convenient for the Puritan ministers of Eastern New Jersey and New York to unite with the Synod. Jonathan Dickinson,* of Elizabethtown, and John Pierson,† of Woodbridge, appear at the first

bytery of Glasgow reported that the money had been turned into goods, under the advice of merchants, and sent with the Synod's letter. "The merchants were at great pains and have done great service in the matter, and were so generous as to transmit the goods free of freight." The accounts were: £305 sterling 14/6 in goods, £7 18/6 in a bill to Mr. Anderson, and 1/10 balance, a total of £313 14/10. The ship in which the goods were sent was the "Brothers of White Haven." Thanks were given to John Stark, merchant in Glasgow, "for his great pains in purchasing the goods that were sent to Pa.," and to "William Anderson and George Houston, merchants, for their giving the goods freight free."

* See p. 160.

† John Pierson was the son of Abraham Pierson, rector of Yale College. He

meeting of the Synod in 1717. Jonathan Dickinson became the great representative American Presbyterian of the Colonial Period, the symbol of all that was noble and generous in the Presbyterian Church. At this time the church at Newark was without a pastor. In 1718, Joseph Webb was called as supply, and on October 22, 1719, he was ordained by the neighboring ministers, and united with the Presbytery of Philadelphia.*

George McNish, of Jamaica, and Samuel Pomeroy, of Newtown, carried out the instructions of the Synod of Philadelphia and united with George Phillips,† of Setauket, in constituting the Presbytery of Long Island.

The congregation of Southampton applied to the Presbytery of Philadelphia, September, 1716, for the services of Samuel Gelston, one of its licentiates, and they promised to subject themselves to the Presbytery, in the Lord. Accordingly Gelston‡ was ordained and installed as pastor of this congregation in 1717. The venerable pastor of Southampton, Joseph Whiting,§ had died in the previous year. The other Puritan churches on Long Island at this time were Southold, where the aged pastor, Joshua Hobart,‖ died in 1717; Easthampton, where Nathaniel Hunting¶ was pastor; Huntington,

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was born in 1689, graduated from Yale College in 1711, and was ordained at Woodbridge, April 29, 1717.

* Joseph Webb was son of Joseph Webb, pastor of Fairfield, Conn., and graduate of Yale College in 1715. (Stearns, in *l. c.*, p. 121.)

† George Phillips was born in 1664; son of Samuel Phillips, pastor of Roxbury, Mass. He graduated from Harvard in 1686, and preached at Jamaica, from 1693–1696. He settled at Setauket in 1697, but was not ordained until 1702. (N. S. Prime, *History of Long Island*, N. Y., 1845, p. 224.)

‡ Samuel Gelston was born in Ireland in 1692. He is entered at the University of Glasgow March 1, 1706, as Scoto-Hibernus; and in the theological class Feb. 15, 1710. He went to New England as a probationer in 1715, and in the autumn of the same year was received by the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

§ See p. 106. ‖ See p. 105.

¶ He graduated at Harvard in 1693, and was installed September, 1696.

where Eliphalet Jones* served; and Bridgehampton, where Ebenezer White† was settled. We do not know why these churches did not join the Presbytery at this time. Bridgehampton was a daughter of Southampton; and the town of Southampton, May 1, 1712, voted twenty acres of land "for a parsonage for a Presbyterian minister."‡ Ebenezer White united with others in constituting the Presbytery of Suffolk in 1747. The reason for remaining apart at this time was probably the inconvenience of attendance upon the meetings of Presbytery. Dec. 4, 1717, the Presbytery of Long Island ordained and installed Joseph Lamb§ over the church at Mattituck, increasing their number to five. In the meanwhile the Puritans of New York City were stimulated to renewed efforts; and they earnestly sought to organize, call a minister, and erect a church building.

The following account of the origin of the church is taken from the Records of the Church of Scotland:

"Dr. John Nicoll, Patrick McKnight, Gilbert Livingston, a grandson of Mr. John Livingston, (a minister of Rotterdam whose memory is deservedly had in great veneration by the Church of Scotland) and Thomas Smith with a few others in or about the year 1717 first entered upon the design of settling a congregation according to the method of Presbyterian churches." (Memorial from New York in the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, May 30, 1766.) "They did apply to neighbouring ministers of the same persuasion to preach to them by turns in a house they had hired for that purpose, to whom they gave encouragement according to their ability. But this method being attended with many inconveniencies partly to the ministers, (some of whom lived above a hundred miles dis-

* See p. 105.

† He was born in 1672, graduated at Harvard in 1692, was ordained Oct., 1695, at Bridgehampton.

‡ *Southampton Town Records*, Liber A, Book No. 2, p. 75. This and other extracts we owe to the kindness of Rev. Epher Whitaker, of Southold, L. I.

§ He graduated from Yale College in 1717.

tance) and partly to the congregation who were not always supplyed on the Lords day with publick ordinances, and wanted the assistance of a Gospel minister, almost wholly, for the discharge of the other parts of the instruction ; they found it necessary to look out for a minister of their own, & accordingly did prefer a call with such encouragement as they could afford to the Reverend Mr. James Anderson." (See Act in favour of the Scots Congregation at New York in America for a contribution, in the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, May 16, 1724.)

In the summer of the year 1717, James Anderson preached for a month to a small handful of people in New York City. These sent him a call to Newcastle, Delaware, where he was settled. The Synod transported him to New York, and he began his work in the late autumn of 1717. December 3, 1717, he wrote to Principal Sterling, of Glasgow, for aid. This letter was supported by a letter of George McNish, which he wrote by direction of the Synod of Philadelphia November 15, 1718.* The congregation went to work to erect a church building. In the spring of 1718 they were permitted to worship in the City Hall while their church was in course of erection.† They raised £600 by private contributions

* See Appendix XX. for the Letter of Anderson, and XXI. for the Letter of McNish.

† Dr. Charles W. Baird discovered in the Minutes of the Common Council of N. Y. the following Record :

"Att a Common Council held at the City Hall of the said City, on Wednesday the 16th day of Aprill Anno Dom. 1718 . . . . 'The Petition of Messrs. Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Grant, Patrick Macknight and John Nicols in Behalf of them selves & the Congregation of Disenting Protestants within this City Called Presbiterians was Read setting forth that they have purchased a piece of Ground within this City Contiguous to the City Hall or near thereunto, with Design speedily to Erect thereupon a Convenient Meeting house for the said Congregation for the Publick Worship and Service of Almighty God & praying that this Corporation will grant unto the said Congregation the use and Liberty of the City Hall in this City therein to Assemble and Meet together for the Publick Worship and Service of Almighty God untill their Meeting house aforesaid be built and finished. It is therefore Order'd by this Court that the Prayer of

in the city, and applied for aid to the colony of Connecticut and the Church of Scotland. The Legislature of Connecticut ordered a collection throughout the colony, and it was speedily forwarded. There was some delay in the help from Scotland. The cost of ground and expense of building were unexpectedly great. The church became involved in debt and disputes, and the people were greatly discouraged. Two parties developed, dividing the trustees and people. Cotton Mather writes to Dr. John Nicoll, February 18, 1720:

"We are very sensibly touched with grief at the information which you give us, of the strange difficulties and encumbrances under which your evangelical affairs are labouring. . . . . As for us, we have never yet had any disadvantageous representations of worthy Mr. Anderson made unto us; nor shall we receive anything to his disadvantage, without our first giving him and you an opportunity for his vindication." (*Mather MSS. American Antiquarian Society.*)

Dr. Nicoll and Patrick McKnight were with the pastor on one side, Messrs. Livingston and Smith were on the other. September 19, 1720, Anderson and his supporters applied to Gov. Burnett for an Act of Incorporation for the church, but they were opposed by a remonstrance of Gilbert Livingston and Thomas Smith, and failed to secure it.*

September 26, 1720, Messrs. Livingston and Smith complained to the Synod, and questioned the regularity of the proceedings of the Presbytery of Long Island in settling Mr. Anderson; and complained of his sermons. The Synod sustained the Presbytery in settling him, but

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the said Petition be and is hereby Granted, Provided they do not Interfere with or Obstruct the Publick Courts of Justice to be held from time to time in the Said City Hall." (*Minutes of the Common Council*, Vol. III., Library of Common Council, N. Y. See C. W. Baird, *Civil Status of the Presbyterians in the Province of New York; Mag. Amer. Hist.*, N. Y., 1879, p. 627.)

* *Documentary History of the State of N. Y.*, III., pp. 460–464.

expressed the wish that the sermons "had been delivered in softer and milder terms in some passages."* Dr. Nicoll represented to the Church of Scotland

"that some who had hitherto appeared forward to promote the work not only withdrew their assistance, but vigorously opposed the same. Whether this proceeded from principle, they being Independent in their persuasion, or from regard to their worldly interest, fearing the charge would amount to more than at first they expected, or from both, we do not determine. But a stop was put to this good work for the space of twelve months; during which time the walls, half raised, stood as a monument of ridicule to the enemies of our profession, who were not wanting to make us their daily derision on this account."†

The pastor offended a considerable portion of his congregation, and they could not endure him. They withdrew in 1722, and organized a separate congregation, and called Jonathan Edwards as their minister. Anderson writes to Principal Sterling, September 9, 1723:

"We in this congregation are now, by burden of debt and other unnatural oppression, brought to the utmost pinch of necessity, so that if we meet not with speedy relief, we shall in all human probability, be obliged to quit striving and give up our interest in this place." (Appendix XX.)

Patrick McKnight went to Scotland and appealed to the Synod of Glasgow for aid.‡ Dr. John Nicoll went over in the next year, and through his efforts the necessities of the church in New York were brought before

* *Records*, p. 62.

† Petition contained in the Act in favour of the Scots Congregation in New York for a Contribution. (*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, May 16, 1724.)

‡ The Minutes of the Synod of Glasgow contain the following record: "April 5, 1722, Patrick McKnight as the representative of the Scots and English Presbyterian church of New York petitions for contributions. The Synod resolved to do something as soon as possibly they can and recommend the cause to the other Synods."

the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 16, 1724, and it was resolved:

"The Assembly having had the distressed congregation of the city of New York in America laid before them by a petition and memorial given in by Dr. John Nichol, their commissioner, and a petition from the Presbytery of Long Island in America, produced by him, they earnestly recommended to all charitable persons to contribute for their assistance, and appointed Presbyteries at their first meetings after the Assembly to take the most effectual methods for bringing in collections of money for their relief; and to send in the same at the furthest before the first of August next, to Mr. John Martin of Airies, whom they appoint collector thereof, and the commission is instructed to use all proper means for bringing in the said collection; and to compt with the collector and see the money duly applied." (*Minutes of the Church of Scotland.*)

The collection amounted to £401 2/16, and it was sent over to Dr. Nicoll for the expenses of building the church; and it was arranged that the church building should be secured to Presbyterians for the future by a bond of £2,000, signed by James Anderson, Dr. Nicoll, and others, to Rev. Mr. McNish and two other ministers of the Presbytery of Long Island,—that the property should not be alienated.

The Synod of Philadelphia, September 20, 1723, appointed a Committee of Conference with the ministers of Connecticut with regard to the affairs of the church of New York. As a result of the conference the two congregations were consolidated, but the wounds were only partially healed.

The Committee were also empowered to "treat with said ministers of Connecticut about an union with us, and empower them to concert and conclude upon any methods that may conduce to that end." * The Synod

* *Records*, p. 77.

had already absorbed all the Puritan ministers of New Jersey and the majority of the Puritan ministers of New York; why should the Connecticut ministers not combine with them? The Connecticut churches were commonly called Presbyterian from the earliest times. Thus the commissioners for New England report in 1665, of the colony of Connecticut that "for the most part they are rigid Presbyterians," but of Massachusetts they say "their way of government is commonwealth like; their way of worship is rude, and called congregational; they are zealous in it, for they persecute all other forms." *

The Connecticut ministers did not unite with the Synod, but they recognized that New York and New Jersey were its field, and they did not intrude upon it.

The difficulties in the church at New York City assumed another phase. Dr. Nicoll nobly stood in the breach and assumed the debts of the church, in reliance upon the aid promised by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This help was tardy. After the principal sum had been paid, the balance continued to be a burden for a long time. But Dr. Nicoll now had to defend the gifts from Scotland from the pastor and his adherents, who claimed that a portion of them should be set aside to pay the deficiency in the pastor's salary. Dr. Nicoll rightly contended that these funds were collected in Scotland for a specific object, namely, the church building, and could not be alienated to another object. In this he was sustained by the Church of Scotland in the prolonged discussion which followed. Dr. Nicoll managed the finances too much by himself, and was not sufficiently considerate of his associates in the trusteeship, so that in 1725, the three others united with

* *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, London, 1880, p. 341.

the pastor in demanding an explanation from Nicoll. They complained of charges of interest, non-cancellation of bonds and other irregularities. They brought these charges before the Presbytery of Long Island and transmitted them to Scotland. But Dr. Nicoll was sustained by the people of the church and by the Church of Scotland, so that at last James Anderson was forced to retire and Ebenezer Pemberton was called from New England. Under his pastorate the church prospered greatly.*

The Presbyterian Church of New York City now became the centre of Puritanism in the Province. In 1738, the Presbytery of Long Island was enlarged by several churches in New Jersey, and received the name of the Presbytery of New York.

III.—LARGE ACCESSION OF IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.

Irish Presbyterians emigrated in large numbers to America from 1713 onward, and added greatly to the strength of American Presbyterianism. The Presbyterians were rendered exceedingly uncomfortable in Ireland by the "Test Act," which expelled them from all public offices, honors, and employments.

"No Presbyterian could henceforth hold any office in the army or navy, in the customs, excise or post office, nor in any of the courts of law, in Dublin or the provinces. They were forbidden to be married by their own ministers; they were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts for immorality because they had so married. The bishops introduced clauses into their leases

* The good Dr. Nicoll departed in peace October, 1743. As his pastor said in a funeral discourse in the First Presbyterian Church in Wall Street: "These walls will be a lasting monument of his zeal for the house and public worship of God, in the erecting of which he spent a considerable part of his estate. While the Presbyterian Church subsists in the city of New York, the name of Dr. Nicoll will ever be remembered with honour, as one of its principal founders and *greatest benefactor*." (*Ebenezer Pemberton, Sermon on the occasion of the death of John Nicoll, M.D., N. Y.*, 1743, p. 24.)

forbidding the erection of meeting houses on any part of their estates and induced many landlords to follow their example. . . . . To crown all, the Schism Act was passed in 1714, which would have swept the Presbyterian Church out of existence, but Queen Anne died before it came into operation, but not before the furious zeal of Swift had nailed up the doors and windows of the Presbyterian meeting house at Summer Hill, in the neighborhood of Laracor. Similar scenes occurred at three other places. The immediate effect of these proceedings was to estrange the Presbyterian people; and, soon after, when they saw that all careers were closed against them, wearied out with long exactions, they began to leave the country by thousands. The destruction of the woolen trade sent 20,000 of them away. The rapacity and greed of landlords, and especially of the Marquis of Donegal, the grandson of Sir Arthur Chichester, the founder of the Ulster Plantation, caused the stream of emigration to America to flow on for nearly 40 years without intermission." *

When the new Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Shrewsbury, arrived in Ireland, in 1713, several of the leading Irish Presbyterians represented to him that "the melancholy apprehension of these things have put several of us upon thoughts of transplanting ourselves into America, that we may there in the wilderness enjoy, by the blessing of God, that ease and quiet of our consciences, persons, and families, which is denied us in our native country." †

Cotton Mather wrote to Principal Sterling, April 3, 1713, that "as great numbers are like to come to us from the North of Ireland, the bond between the churches of Scotland and New England will every day grow stronger and stronger." ‡

Thomas Craighead led the way. He removed to New England in 1715, and settled as pastor at Freetown,

* Thomas Croskery, *Irish Presbyterianism*, Dublin, 1884, pp. 13–14.

† Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, continued to the present time*, by W. D. Killen, Vol. III., 2d edition, London, 1853, p. 95.

‡ *Mather MSS.* in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

Bristol county, Massachusetts, where he remained until 1723; when he removed to Pennsylvania and united with the Presbytery of New Castle, January 28, 1724.*

In the spring of 1715, Samuel Gelston went as a probationer to New England, and in the autumn was taken under the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia.†

John Thomson, a licentiate, removed in the same year. He was ordained by a Committee of the original Presbytery of Philadelphia; and at the organization of the Synod was assigned to the congregation of Lewes, Delaware, in the Presbytery of New Castle.‡ Thomson was a narrow and opinionated man. He became the father of all the discord and mischief in the American Presbyterian Church.

In 1716 William Tennent§ arrived in America. He was an ordained minister of the Church of Ireland. He expressed to the Synod of Philadelphia, September 17, 1718, his reasons for dissenting from that Church, and was admitted a member of the Synod.

His reasons of dissent are the following:

"*Imprimis.* Their government by Bishops, Arch-Bishops, Deacons, Archdeacons, Canons, Chapters, Chancellors, Vicars, wholly

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* He graduated at the University of Edinburgh as Scoto-Hibernus, December 10, 1691; became pastor of Dearg in the Presbytery of Convoy, Ireland. He appears in the minutes of the Sub-Synod of Derry, April 22, 1707. May 3, 1715, the Presbytery reported that it had loosed his relation from the congregation of Dearg by accepting his dismission, and that they had given him a testimonial to go to America. The Synod censured the Presbytery for not acting with greater deliberation. (See *MS. Minutes* in the Assembly's College at Belfast.)

† See p. 177.

‡ He is entered at the University of Glasgow March 1, 1706, as Scoto-Hibernus. The Presbytery of Armagh reported to the General Synod, June 19, 1711, that they had entered him on his first trials. He came to New York in 1715. (See *MS. Minutes of Synod of Ulster.*)

§ He graduated at the University of Edinburgh July 11, 1695. He was born in Ireland, and married the daughter of Gilbert Kennedy, the Presbyterian pastor of Dundonald, Ireland. He was ordained by the Bishop of Down, as a deacon, July, 1704, and as a priest September 22, 1706. (Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 364.)

anti-scriptural. 2. Their discipline by Surrogates, and Chancellors in their Courts Ecclesiastic, without a foundation in the word of God. 3. Their abuse of that supposed discipline by commutation. 4. A Diocesan Bishop cannot be founded *jure divino* upon those Epistles to Timothy or Titus, nor anywhere else in the word of God, and so is a mere human invention. 5. The usurped power of the Bishops at their yearly visitations, acting all of themselves, without consent of the brethren. 6. Plurality of benefices. Lastly. The Churches conniving at the practice of Arminian doctrines inconsistent with the eternal purpose of God, and an encouragement of vice. Besides I could not be satisfied with their ceremonial way of worship. These, &c have so affected my conscience, that I could no longer abide in a church, where the same are preached." (*Records*, pp. 51–52.)

William Tennent was one of the grandest of the trophies won by Presbyterianism from Episcopacy in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

He settled at Eastchester, New York, November 22, 1718, and began the work of recovering Westchester county from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism. He removed to Bedford May 1, 1720, and remained until August, 1726, preaching with wondrous zeal in the several towns of the county.* He then removed to Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, established the Log College, and became the Father of Presbyterian Colleges in America.†

"To William Tennent, above all others, is owing the prosperity and enlargement of the Presbyterian Church. . . . . Tennent had the rare gift of attracting to him youth and worth and genius, embuing them with his healthful spirit, and sending them forth sound in the faith, blameless in life, burning with zeal, and unsurpassed as instructive, impressive, and successful preachers."‡

In 1717, Robert Cross, another able man, was received as a probationer; and he succeeded James Ander-

* C. W. Baird, *History of Bedford Church*, pp. 45 *seq.*

† See p. 242.

‡ Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 367.

son in the pastorate of the church at Newcastle, September 17, 1718.*

In 1718, Samuel Young,† an ordained minister, and Henry Hooke, a probationer, were received by the Synod from Ireland.‡ Hooke was ordained and settled at Cohanzy June 16, 1718. In the spring of 1718 an Irish minister writes to Wodrow:

"There is like to be a great desolation in the northern parts of this kingdom by the removal of several of our brethren to the American plantations. No less than six ministers have demitted their congregations, and great numbers of their people go with them; so that we are daily alarmed with both ministers and people going off." (Reid, in *l. c.*, III., p. 262.)

The most of these ministers went to New England. William Boyd, pastor of Macasky, in Ireland, went thither with an address to Governor Shute of Massachusetts, signed by 217 names, of which nine were ministers.§ He received encouragement from the Governor, and also from the New England ministers. He preached at a public Lecture in Boston, and was cordially received. Increase Mather writes:

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* He was born near Ballykelly, in Ireland, in 1689 (Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 367). He is entered at the University of Glasgow Feb. 27, 1702, in the 4th class.

† Samuel Young is entered at the University of Glasgow as Hibernus in 1691. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Armagh February 16, 1703. This Presbytery reported to the General Synod, in 1719, that he had removed to America in the previous year. This Presbytery also reported to the General Synod that they had ordained, January 17, 1717(18), William Elliott, designed for America, but he appears, for some reason, not to have carried out this design.

‡ Henry Hooke is entered at the University of Glasgow, in the 1st class, as Scoto-Hibernus, March 7, 1712, and in the theological class, February 10, 1713. He was aided by the *General Fund* of Dublin in his education. He received £3 9/6 December 24, 1711, and £2 6/ April 18, 1712. He also received from the *General Fund* an appropriation of £12 "on his going beyond the seas," April 26, 1717.

§ Alexander Blaikie, *History of Presbyterianism in New England*, Boston, 1881, p. 48.

"Many in that kingdom, having had thoughts of a remove to this part of the world, have considered him as a person suitably qualified to take a voyage hither to make enquiry what encouragement or otherwise they might expect, in case they should engage in so weighty and hazardous an undertaking, as that of transporting themselves and families over so vast an ocean. . . . . But if the divine providence shall bring over to us a considerable number of sober, industrious, pious people, they will strengthen and be a blessing to the whole country. May they build on the foundation which their first English Predecessors have left them." (*Gods Way the Best Way briefly and plainly demonstrated in a Sermon preach'd at the Lecture in Boston March* 19, 1718(19). By William Boyd, A.M., Minister of the Gospel. Boston, 1719. Preface by Increase Mather.)

The favorable report of William Boyd was immediately followed by a considerable emigration. James McGregorie established himself with his flock at Londonderry, New Hampshire; Edward Fitzgerald at Worcester, Massachusetts; and William Cornwell and James Woodside at Casco Bay, Maine. Cornwell and Boyd soon returned to Ireland. Cotton Mather writes to James Woodside, December 3, 1718:

"Tis more than time that your brethren here should bid you welcome to the Western side of the Atlantic and make you a tender of all the brotherly assistance that we are capable of giving you, especially under the difficulties which at your first arrival you cannot but meet withal. The glorious providence of God our Saviour which has been at work in the removal of so many people who are of so desirable a character, as we see come and coming from the North of Ireland into the North of New England, hath doubtless very great intentions in it, and what we do we know not now, but we shall know hereafter." (*Mather MSS.*, American Antiquarian Society.)

At this time Irish Presbyterians also removed to South Carolina. June 21, 1715, the Presbytery of Armagh reported to the General Synod that they had "ordained Mr. Hugh Fisher, designing to go to some of the plan-

tations in America, where he may exercise his ministry, Mr. John Henry a minister in those bounds having invited him thither and desired that he may be ordained before he go away."* Fisher did not go to Maryland as at first designed, but to South Carolina, and settled at Dorchester in place of Joseph Lord, who had removed to New England.† The General Synod of Ulster voted him a collection in the several Presbyteries as a *viaticum*.

The Synod of Philadelphia, encouraged by the accessions from Ireland, in 1718 sent a letter to Joseph Boyse for the Presbytery of Dublin, soliciting funds for their assistance.‡ The Synod wrote to Boyse, as they had previously done to Alexander Sinclair of the same Presbytery;§ they were in sympathy with the spirit of that Presbytery. Joseph Boyse was the leading Presbyterian in Ireland at the time, the champion of Presbytery against Episcopacy, and of orthodoxy against the Semi-Arianism of Thomas Emlyn; and at the same time a broad, gener-

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* *MS. Minutes Synod of Ulster.*

† See p. 128. Hugh Fisher was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Convoy in 1708. He was in difficulty with his Presbytery on account of an inscription he had placed on his father's tombstone "reflecting on some people in Donaghmore, where his father was minister." The Presbytery ordered him to erase the offensive epitaph, but he declined. The case was carried through the Synod of Derry to the General Synod, which finally admonished Mr. Fisher "as having acted somewhat unadvisedly," and directed the Presbytery to license him without any further insisting on the matter of the gravestone.

‡ Joseph Boyse was born in Leeds, England, in 1660, the son of Matthew Boyse, an eminent Puritan, who had been in Boston, New England, for some years. He was educated at the academy of Mr. Veal, at Stepney. He was at first minister of the English church at Amsterdam. He became a colleague of Dr. Williams in Wood st. chapel, Dublin, in 1683, and remained a pastor of that church for 45 years. He was the most distinguished Irish divine of his age. In 1688 he defended Presbyterianism against King's *Vindiciæ Calvinisticæ*, and in 1694 against Walker, and in 1694 against Bishop King and Pullen, and in 1695 and again in 1716 against Tisdell. (James Armstrong, *Ordination*, etc., p. 70. Calamy, *Historical Account*, I., 405. Reid, *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, III., 181.)

§ See p. 164.

ous-minded man like Daniel Williams, his predecessor and friend. Moreover Henry Hooke had just arrived through the assistance of the General Fund of Dublin, and it was natural to look for aid to the same fountain of benevolence.

Indeed, funds were greatly needed by the Synod of Philadelphia in view of the rapid extension of the church through this large Irish immigration. George Gillespie writes from Delaware, July 16, 1723:* "In the space of five years, by gone, near to 200 families have come into our parts from Ireland, and more are following. They are generally Presbyterians." Mr. Ross, the missionary of the S. P. G. at Newcastle, writes, Sept. 17, 1723: "The church at Newcastle is environed with greater number of Dissenters than ever, by reason of these fresh recruits sent us of late from the north of Ireland. They call themselves Scotch Irish,—*ignavum pecus*, and the bitterest railers against the church that ever trod upon American ground."† Ministers also continued to be received from Ireland: Joseph Houston,‡ a probationer, July 29, 1724; Adam Boyd,§ a probationer, in July, 1724; Archibald McCook,‖ March, 1726; Hugh Stevenson,¶ May, 1726; and John Wilson, in 1729.**

IV.—RECRUITS FROM ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

In the year 1718, a committee was appointed by the Synod of Philadelphia to write a letter to the London ministers. It was not sent, however, until 1720, for

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* See Appendix XXII. for this letter. † *Letter Book S. P. G.*

‡ A graduate of the University of Edinburgh, Feb. 15, 1711(?).

§ A student at the University of Glasgow, 1st class, March, 1711, Scoto-Hibernus.

‖ Student at University of Glasgow, March, 1711, Scoto-Hibernus.

¶ Graduate of the University of Edinburgh, Jan. 17, 1724(?).

** The Presbytery of Armagh made an unfavorable report concerning him. He removed to Boston, where he died, Jan. 6, 1733. (Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 405.)

reasons which will soon appear.* The letter is addressed "to the much honored and very reverend Dissenting ministers of London." It states:

"That there are now in number twenty-three ordained ministers and three probationers, who all have agreed to unite their endeavors annually at Philadelphia, for spreading and propagating the gospel of Christ in these dark parts of the world, viz.: in the provinces of New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and the territories, Maryland and Virginia in all which, except the last, some of the aforesaid ministers do reside. . . . . That there is nothing we desire more than the honor and comfort of a yearly correspondence with you, our very reverend and dear brethren, whom we do so much esteem in the Lord, if it were but to have your countenance, concurrence, and advice in the great and common work of our Lord and His kingdom." (*Records*, p. 54.)

This letter was addressed to Dr. Calamy, John Nesbitt, and James Anderson, with a short postscript to each.

In the meanwhile the London ministers were not idle. They sent out William Steward and John Clement in 1718, and these were received by the Synod as probationers, Sept. 18th of the same year. Clement was ordained in June, 1719, for Rehoboth, Virginia; and Steward for Monokin and Wicomico at the same time.†

In 1720, John Orme was sent over by the London

*See p. 198.

†William Steward was a student at the University of Glasgow. Thence he went to London with a letter from Principal Sterling to John Evans. (See Appendix XXIII. for Letter of William Steward to Principal Sterling.)

A John McClement graduated at the University of Edinburgh, Feb. 25, 1719. This is probably the same person. His diploma was given him a term after his departure. He also went to London. The minutes of the Presbyterian Fund of London record: "Agreed April 7, 1718 that £20 be given for furnishing and transporting of Mr. William Stewart and Mr. John MacClement approved candidates who are gone to be ministers in Maryland." MacClement seems to have changed his name to Clement. The Presbyterian Fund Board also engaged a William Gillespie to go to Maryland, and Oct. 6, 1718, gave him £10 for preparation. But he changed his mind, and was unwilling to go. Dec. 8th they appointed Mr. Mount to discourse with Mr. Gillespie concerning Barnett (the place where he desired to go), and acquaint him that "it is the opinion of this Board that he ought to go to Maryland." Jan. 5, 1718(19): "A motion being

ministers; was received by the Synod, September 26th of the same year, and settled at Patuxent.*

In 1722, Alexander Hutcheson, a probationer, was received from the Presbytery of Glasgow. This Presbytery sent him out and paid his expenses to America in order to furnish the help asked of them by the Synod of Philadelphia.† The Presbytery of Newcastle transmitted a vote of thanks to the Presbytery of Glasgow for sending him. He was ordained June 6, 1723, at Bohemia Manor, Maryland.‡

Wales also sent a recruit in 1719, in the person of Thomas Evans, a student of the Presbytery of Caermarthen. He was ordained May 8, 1723, at Pencader.§

The Synod also received from Scotland Robert Laing‖ in 1722, and William McMillan¶ in 1724, but they remained but a short time at work.

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made by Mr. Blount that it may be resolved by this Board that whereas Mr. Gillespy has received considerable sums of money and parcels of books in order to his going over to Maryland to preach the gospel there, it is the opinion of this Board that Mr. Gillespie ought with all possible speed to go over to Maryland according to his repeated promises and engagements, it was resolved accordingly and that Mr. Calamy is desired to acquaint Mr. Gillespy with the said resolution." But it was ineffectual. William Gillespie remained in England. He was settled at Hatherley, in Devonshire, from 1726–1743. The minutes of the Fund also show that June 8, 1713, there was an ineffectual attempt to send a minister to Carolina. "Agreed that £10 be allowed to Mr. Mack Murdrey for an extraordinary supply in case he goes to Carolina." It ought also to be considered that these ineffectual efforts that went on record imply also still more numerous efforts that were unsuccessful, and did not ripen sufficiently to be recorded.

* He appears in the Minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board of London as at Dartford, in Kent. The record is, "Paid Orme on his going to Maryland." Webster must be mistaken in representing him from Devonshire, England, unless this possibly might be his birthplace. (Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 372.)

† Hutcheson was a bursar of Theology in the University of Glasgow, April 28, 1714.

‡ See Appendix XXIV. for his letter from thence to Principal Sterling.

§ Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 374.

‖ A weak man, who was suspended and restored, and at last in 1726, by the Synod's advice, demitted the ministry.

¶ McMillan is entered at the University of Glasgow March 11, 1720. He disappeared from notice as soon as he was licensed to preach.

V.—THE SUBSCRIPTION CONTROVERSY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The churches in Great Britain were at this time greatly disturbed by a controversy respecting subscription to articles of faith. The controversy was occasioned by the outbreak of Semi-Arianism in the ranks of the Presbyterian ministry.

The conflict with Semi-Arianism began in Dublin between the ministers of the Presbytery of Dublin and Thomas Emlyn, who was the first among Presbyterians to agitate against the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

Thomas Emlyn * gives the origin of the controversy:

"I had been a preacher in Dublin (together with Mr. J. Boyse) for eleven years, to a congregation of Protestant dissenters, who were generally a sober and peaceable people, not unworthy of my love, nor had been wanting in any testimonies of affection and respect that I could reasonably desire or expect from them. . . . . I own I had been unsettled in my notions from the time I read Dr. Sherlocks Book of the Trinity which sufficiently discovered how far many were gone back towards Polytheism; I long tried what I could do with some Sabellian turns, making out a Trinity of somewhat in one single mind. I found that by the Fatherhood scheme of Dr. Sherlock and Mr. Howe, I best preserved a Trinity, but I lost the unity; by the Sabellian scheme of modes and subsistence, and properties, &c. I best kept up the divine unity: but then I had lost a Trinity such as the Scripture discovers, so that I could never keep both in view at once. . . . . One of the congregation of leading influence . . . . having first put Mr. Boyse upon the inquiry, himself came with Mr. Boyse to my house, June 1702, acquainting me with these jealousies. . . . .

* Thomas Emlyn was born at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, in 1663. He was educated at the Dissenters' Academy in Northamptonshire, and at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He became chaplain to the countess of Donegal and preached frequently in Belfast. In 1691 he became colleague of Mr. Boyse in Dublin. When he removed to London "he became the intimate friend and associate of Foster, Clark, and Whiston." "He died in the year 1743 in the 79 year of his age." (Armstrong, *Ordination Service*, p. 70.)

I now thought myself, bound as a Christian, to declare my faith openly in so great a point, and freely own'd myself convinced, that the *God and Father of Jesus Christ* is alone the supreme being, and superior in excellency and authority to his son. . . . . Mr. Boyse, not willing to take such a weighty matter on himself, brought it on the stage before the meeting of the Dublin ministers, to have his brethrens advice. . . . . Upon this their first and *only* conference with me, these ministers immediately the same day agreed to cast me off, and that I should preach no more.' (*A True Narrative of the Proceedings of the Dissenting Ministers of Dublin against Mr. Thomas Emlyn*, London, 1719, pp. xiv. *seq.*)

It is evident that the Semi-Arianism of Thomas Emlyn found no sympathy among the broad and generous minded Presbyterian ministers of Dublin. They separated from him without raising the question of subscription, and without exacting tests of orthodoxy from one another.

Semi-Arianism soon after manifested itself in England, in the case of James Pierce, of Exeter. James Pierce had been influenced by an acquaintance with William Whiston, and also by reading Samuel Clark's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, to fall in very largely with their views. He was called to the pastorate at Exeter in 1713. The dispute arose in the spring of 1717. In 1718 Mr. Pierce and others stated their views in the Assembly at Exeter. He said:

"I am not of the opinion of Sabellius, Arius, Socinus, or Sherlock. I believe there is one God, and can be no more. I believe the Son and Holy Ghost to be divine persons, but subordinate to the Father; and the unity of God is, I think, to be resolved into the Father's being the fountain of the divinity of the Son and Spirit." (James Pierce, *The Western Inquisition*, London, 1720, p. 105. *The Minutes of the United Brethren of the city and county of Exon and county of Devon from* 1690 *to September* 4, 1717, are in Dr. Williams' Library, Grafton street, London, but unfortunately they cease just as the controversy begins.)

James Pierce, like Thomas Emlyn, was a Semi-Arian.

The question arose how to deal with this error. There were two parties in the Assembly at Exeter; and the same two parties at once developed in London. The advice of the London ministers was asked by both sides. They held several meetings of the three denominations—Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist—in February and March, 1718(9). The Committee of the three denominations prepared a paper containing "*Advice for promoting Peace*," and brought it before the General Meeting in London, February 19, 1718(9). It was carefully considered, paragraph by paragraph, without any division. February 24th it was carried by the majority that "a declaration concerning the Trinity should not be inserted in the letter of advice." March 3d the minority renewed the debate and urged to have the declaration inserted; and when they could not accomplish their purpose, withdrew, and held a meeting by themselves, and subscribed with their names the first of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, and the 5th and 6th questions of the Westminster Shorter Catechism. This raised the question of subscription above the question of how to deal with Semi-Arianism; and the discussion of this question prevented the union of the body against Pierce and his followers.

The Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of England had long been opposed to subscription to creeds. Those who urged subscription were raising a new issue. They plead that the emergency justified it, and they urged subscription to a single article of faith in order to overcome a specific error. Such subscription had precedents enough in Puritan history.* But there was great disagreement as to the propriety of doing so on this occasion. The London ministers broke into three

* See pp. 43–45.

parties,—subscribers, non-subscribers, and neutrals. The non-subscribers being in the majority, went on with their meeting, after the withdrawal of the subscribers; the moderator, Josh. Oldfield, remained in the chair; they adopted their Letter of Advice, and sent it to Exeter. Their views as to subscription are thus stated:

"If after all, a publick hearing be insisted on, we think the Protestant principle, that the Bible is the only and the perfect rule of faith, obliges those who have the case before them, not to condemn any man upon the authority of human decisions, or because he consents not to human forms or phrases: But then only is he to be censured, as not holding the faith necessary to salvation, when it appears that he contradicts, or refuses to own, the plain and express declarations of Holy Scripture, in what is there made necessary to be believed, and in matters there solely revealed. . . . We did not think fit to subscribe, because we thought no sufficient reasons were offered, for our subscribing. We were prest to it, that we might clear ourselves from the suspicions of Arianism. But, as we knew no just ground of suspicion, much less of any charge against us, we thought it would ill become us so far to indulge an unreasonable jealousy, as to take a step of this nature for removing it; especially since doing it would have been inconsistent with one of the Advices which we thought necessary to be given, and which was founded upon an Apostolical rule." (*Authentick Account of several things done and agreed upon by the Dissenting ministers lately assembled at Salter's Hall*, London, 1719; also, *A true relation of some proceedings at Salter's Hall by those ministers who signed the First Article of the Church of England, &c.*, London, 1719.)

Of the Presbyterians 50 were non-subscribers, 26 subscribers, and 9 neutrals. Of the Congregationalists 7 were non-subscribers, 23 were subscribers, and 5 neutrals. This was the situation when the Synod of Philadelphia wrote to the Dissenting ministers of London in 1720, and addressed it to Dr. Calamy, John Nesbitt, and James Anderson, with a short postscript to each.*

* See p. 192. Calamy was an English Presbyterian, pastor of Long Ditch church, Westminster; Anderson was a Scotch Presbyterian, pastor of the Scots'

Considering the state of parties in London at the time, the American Synod made a shrewd and non-committal choice in its correspondents. Calamy was the leader of the neutrals. Reynolds and Tong were fierce for subscription, but the great majority of the Presbyterian brethren were against them, and so the American Synod preferred to write to Calamy. The great majority of the Congregational brethren were subscribers, and Nesbitt fairly represented them. Anderson was a subscriber, and represented the Scotch element in London.

The position of the neutrals is explained by Calamy to Principal Chalmers, of Aberdeen, who happened to be in London and tried to persuade him to join the subscribers:

"I told him, that, as for the true eternal divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, I was very ready to declare for it, at that time or any other, and durst not in conscience be backward to it. But I could upon good grounds assure him, that was not the point in question among those that were to meet together on the day following; that certain gentlemen behind the curtain had so influenced their respective friends, for two different ways and methods to which they severally inclined, that, as they appeared disposed, a fierce contention and a shameful breach was in my apprehension unavoidable." (Edmund Calamy, *Historical Account of my own Life*, 2d edition, London, 1830, II., pp. 414–415.)

Chalmers subsequently admitted that Calamy was correct, after he had attended the meeting and seen the predicted results.* It was partisanship, and not zeal for Jesus Christ, that brought on this deadly strife, as it does most ecclesiastical contentions and divisions. The Synod of Philadelphia was informed as to the real state

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church, Piccadilly; Nesbitt was pastor of the Congregational church, Hare Court. (James, *History of Litigation*, pp. 669, 690.)

* Calamy, in *l. c.*, II., p. 416.

of affairs, and, as it seems, agreed with Calamy not to compromise itself. Isaac Watts, Daniel Neal, and Samuel Price also agreed with Calamy and remained neutral.

It was indeed a sad mistake to divide the body on this question. The real sympathizers with Pierce were a handful, and could easily have been thrown off, if the over-zealous subscribers had not lost their heads, put themselves in a minority, and entered into warfare with the non-subscribing brethren and the neutrals who were as orthodox as themselves. The General Synod of Ulster, at the meeting in 1720, wrote a pacifical letter, prepared by Kirkpatrick, Abernethy, Choppin, and Orr:

"The General Synod of dissenting ministers in the North of Ireland now assembled at Belfast with co-respondents from the Revd Presbytery of Dublin and the South, have found themselves obliged to take into the most serious consideration those lamentable differences which have of late happened among Protestants especially of our denomination, indeed the same spirit of jealousy and division which has so lately prevailed in other churches had begun to move among ourselves, and we were under the apprehension of such a breach as would have been the subject of our enemies insulting triumphs and the deepest regret of all who wish well to the honour and interest of pure religion, but by the good hand of God upon us, our fears are hitherto prevented, and we have fallen into such peaceful measures, as we hope will strengthen and perpetuate our good agreement . . . . permit us therefore our much esteemed brethren to express our sincere concern that your endeavours hitherto for restoring concord have been in so great measure unsuccessful, and our hearts desire is that you may be encouraged to an unwearyed diligence in using that great interest which we are persuaded you have with the contending parties to lay aside their animosities and return to brotherly love and peace. . . . . It is so much the more to be hoped that charitable councils will take place, because with great satisfaction we have received assurance, that our dear Brethren speak the same things, and that there

are no divisions among them about any important points of doctrine, but only prudential methods, and matters of an inferior nature, concerning which differences of judgment ought not, we do not say to destroy, but even in any degree to lessen charity." (See *MS. Minutes of the Synod of Ulster*.)

This admirable letter was addressed to the chiefs of the three parties, viz.: Josh. Oldfield, Edmund Calamy, Tong, Mayo, Barker, Robinson, Evans, Reynolds, Wright, Grosvenor, and Brown. It breathes the sweet and noble spirit of that best of Irish Synods, which passed the *Pacific Act*.

Subscription to the Westminster Standards was not designed by the Westminster Assembly, and was not required or favored by the English Presbyterians, nor by the Dublin Presbytery in Ireland, which was in close sympathy and harmony with the English Presbyterians from the beginning. Antony Tuckney, one of the best theologians in the Westminster Assembly, tells us:

"In the Assemblie, I gave my vote with others that the Confession of Faith, put outt by Authoritie should not bee eyther required to bee sworn or subscribed too; wee having bin burnt in the hand in that kind before, but so as not to be publickly preached or written against." (*Eight Letters of Dr. Antony Tuckney, and Dr. Benjamin Whichcote*, London, 1753, p. 76.)

Subscription to the Westminster Confession did not originate in the Church of Scotland. Prior to the Revolution the Westminster Confession was honored as approved with certain explanations, "as most agreeable to the Word of God, and in nothing *contrary to the received doctrine of this Church*." In 1690 the Scotch Parliament ratified it anew "as the public and avowed Confession of this Church, containing the *sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches*." The General Assembly of the same year appointed it to be subscribed by "all probationers licensed to preach, all intrants into

the ministry, and all ministers and elders received into communion."

In 1693, Parliament required subscription of all ministers, and in 1693 the General Assembly passed an act and formula of subscription in accordance with this requirement of Parliament, as follows:

"I do sincerely own and declare the above Confession of Faith, approven by former General Assemblies of this Church, and ratified by law in the year 1690, to be the Confession of my faith, and that I own the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine, which I will constantly adhere to."

However, many Presbyteries accepted a modified subscription which originated between 1690 and 1694: "I subscribe and will adhere to the Confession of Faith therein contained as founded on, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures." No one familiar with Scottish history from 1690 onwards, will say that even the stricter formula of subscription meant verbal subscription. It was interpreted, in view of the Act of Parliament of 1690, "as containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches."

The Irish Presbyterian ministers fled to Scotland in 1689. When they returned, many of them were inclined to follow their Scottish brethren so far as was possible. In 1698, the Synod of Ulster resolved "That young men licensed to preach be obliged to subscribe to our Confession of Faith in all the articles thereof, as the Confession of their faith." This did not apply to ministers in charge or ruling elders, as did the Scotch Act of 1693. The Act of 1698 was renewed in 1705:

"That such as are to be licensed to preach the gospel, subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith to be the confession of their faith, and promise to adhere to the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of this church, as also those who are licensed and have not subscribed, be obliged to subscribe before their being ordained among us."

The Scotch Act required by Parliament could not be passed in Ireland, where the State Church was Episcopal, and not Presbyterian; and indeed there were diverse elements in Ireland which rendered such an Act impossible in itself.

The Act of 1705 was due to the excitement produced by the Emlyn case. It was unanimously passed. James Kirkpatrick and John Abernethy, afterwards distinguished as non-subscribers, were present and agreed to it.* Thomas Witherow and James Kirkpatrick both claim that this was the first Act.†

In 1705, the Belfast Society was founded by John Abernethy, of Antrim. This Society attracted the youngest and ablest ministers of the district. Many of them were pupils of Professor Simson, of Glasgow,

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* Thomas Witherow, *Historical and Literary Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland*, Belfast, 1879, p. 142.

† "The Protestant dissenters never required of their candidates for the holy ministry subscription to the Westminster Confession or any other Confession or book whatsoever, until the year 1705; though it had obtained for some years before as a custom among the Dissenters in the North for the candidates to profess their assent to it at their ordination; but even that custom was introduced without any act of their ecclesiastical assemblies, there being no act for making it a term of communion before the year 1705. In which year a Northern Synod resolved to require subscription to the said confession, from all their candidates as the confession of their faith. But the Dissenters in the city of Dublin and South of Ireland have not to this day required any subscription from their candidates, who do all prepare their own confession in their own words. Having first presented it to their ordainers, upon their receiving satisfaction by it, they deliver it openly at their ordination, in presence of their ordainers, and of the church of which they are to undertake the pastoral care. Which has likewise been, and yet continues, the constant and universal custom of the English Dissenters, not excepting the very time when Presbyterian Government had all the civil sanction in England which the Long Parliament could give it, and when the Westminster Assembly flourished, and was in the greatest vogue; who having completed the Confession, would not have missed to recommend subscription to it, had that been ever intended as their design in composing it. And they discovered no great fondness of subscription when they rejected a motion made to them, that they should subscribe the Shorter Catechism composed by themselves." (Kirkpatrick, *Vindication of Subscribers and Non-subscribers*, pp. 18 *seq.*; in Witherow, in *l. c.*, pp. 166 *seq.*)

and they were in sympathy with the broad Presbyterianism of Scotland, Dublin, and England. This Society became so strong that it furnished five out of six moderators to the Synod between 1709 and 1716.

There was a struggle over the Toleration Act, which passed without requiring subscription. The Dublin Presbytery and the Belfast Society used their influence against subscription and prevailed. The Irish Presbyterian church was therefore free in this regard. The Synod at Belfast in 1716 debated the matter, and expressed themselves as in favor of including subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith in the Toleration Act, or a sum of it expressed in a formula adopted by them; but the Dublin Presbytery and the Belfast Society prevailed over them.

In the meanwhile the discussion in Ireland was complicated by the discussions in Scotland over the case of Prof. Simson, of Glasgow, the teacher in theology of a large number of the younger Irish ministers. The same movements of thought were in progress in Scotland as in England and in Ireland.

Edmund Calamy visited Scotland, the General Assembly, and the Scotch universities, in 1709. He noted there as elsewhere a difference of opinion in ecclesiastical affairs. He testifies that he attended a committee meeting of one from every Synod of the Church of Scotland to choose a professor of Church History, and was amazed to find "that not one in all the company was for the *jure divino* of the Presbyterian form of church government, though they freely submitted to it." He, however, mentions a James Webster "who was over-orthodox, and as great a bigot as any in the country"; and a mother who was anxious for her son, who had gone to London. She says to Calamy: "'If he had but gone to where they had the gospel, I should not have

been near so much concerned.' 'Ah, sir,' said she, 'you have no Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and therefore have not the gospel.'" * Calamy was honored with a doctorate from the three universities—Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. Daniel Williams also received the same honors at the same time. The leading divines of Scotland were in sympathy with Daniel Williams and Edmund Calamy, Joseph Boyse and James Kirkpatrick, the leading Presbyterian divines of England and Ireland.

This was now illustrated in the struggle over the case of Professor Simson. James Webster was the chief prosecutor, charging him with Socinianism and Arminianism. This he disclaimed, and his disclaimer was allowed by the General Assembly. His real fault was that he was endeavoring, as a teacher of theology, to explain orthodox doctrines in the terminology and in accordance with the methods and currents of thought of his age; while his adversaries were clinging to the old forms of statement in the scholastic divines, which had been introduced into the universities in place of the older Scottish worthies. The process resulted in a warning in 1717 to Prof. Simson and all other professors and ministers "from using such expressions and venting such opinions or hypotheses as are different from those commonly used by orthodox divines and are not evidently founded in Scripture." This did not satisfy either side, and the contest continued for many years. The liberal party in Scotland, England, and Ireland supported Prof. Simson at the time.

In 1719, Abernethy preached a sermon on "Religious obedience founded on personal persuasion," and in 1722 and 1724, two pamphlets appeared against subscription,

* E. Calamy, *Historical Account of my own Life*, 2d edition, London, 1830, II., pp. 153, 161, 167–170.

endorsed by the Dublin ministers: Joseph Boyse, Weld, and Choppin; and James Kirkpatrick, and Halliday, of Belfast. These were the most prominent Presbyterian ministers in Ireland at the time. The majority was against them. But they were men of power and influence, and had the sympathy of the London Presbyterians with them, and also the liberal party in Scotland. The strict subscriptionists in Scotland were in agreement with MacBride, the leader of the Irish subscribers. In order to peace, the Synod passed in 1720 a *Pacific Act*, with the design of harmonizing the parties. Robert Craighead was chiefly instrumental in this. He took the part of reconciler and succeeded for the time.* This Pacific Act is of great importance to the American Presbyterian Church, for it was the *basis* of its Adopting Act.†

The Pacific Act did not satisfy the advocates of subscription. The London conflict excited them to renewed action. In 1721 supplications were made from 18 congregations in the Northwest against the Belfast society, praying that "all the members of the Synod, and of all inferior judicatories, may be obliged to subscribe the Westminster Confession as the Confession of their faith." ‡

* Robert Craighead was son of the Robert Craighead of Donaghmore and Derry. He was born at Donaghmore in 1684, educated at a school in Derry, and completed his education at the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Leyden. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Derry, and soon after chosen co-pastor of Capel street chapel, Dublin, in 1709. "In the violent agitations fomented amongst the Presbyterians of Ulster he could not avoid being much concerned; 'but the part he took was that of a reconciler, which he discharged with such temper and prudence that scarcely did any minister stand so fair and maintain so good an interest with both parties.'" He remained minister of Capel street chapel for 29 years, and died July 30, 1738 (Armstrong, *Ordination Service*, p. 98). "He agreed with the non-subscribers in asserting that the church is not authorized in requiring subscription to any human creed as a test of ministerial communion." (Witherow, *Hist. Memorials*, p. 188.)

† We shall consider this Act more fully in connection with the American Act. See pp. 216 *seq.*

‡ Kirkpatrick, *Defence of Christian Liberty*, pp. 47 *seq.*; Witherow, in *l. c.*, p. 167.

The excitement over Prof. Simson's teaching broke out afresh in Scotland. In the winter of 1725, "surmises and reports of unsound and erroneous doctrine being taught at Glasgow" were industriously circulated. The "raiser and broacher of the *fama clamosa* against the Professor" was James Sloss, one of his former students, then pastor in Glasgow, who represented that the Professor had taught in his class-room in 1725 serious heresies upon the doctrine of the Trinity. It seems that the Professor was accustomed to comment upon Markius' *Medulla* and Pictet's *Compendium*, and to discuss them with reference to the Westminster standards. Prof. Simson wrote a fraternal letter from a sick-bed to the Presbytery of Glasgow, March 2, 1725(6), which ought to have set these rumors at rest; for his statements with reference to the questions raised are clear, distinct, and entirely orthodox; but there was such excitement over the matter that it was deemed best to enter judicially upon the case.*

It appears that Prof. Simson was endeavoring to meet the Semi-Arianism of the time by better statements of the orthodox doctrine. His views are presented in keen and discriminating language and are subtile in analysis. They put the doctrine in fresh forms, to meet the difficulties that were springing up in the minds of the young, owing to the views of Samuel Clark, William Whiston, and others; and which already had wrought mischief in the case of Thomas Emlyn in Ireland, and James Pierce in England; and which were destined to rend all the churches of Great Britain in the 18th century, and to divide the Congregational churches of New England. The views of Prof. Simson and his methods of statement might have proved the very best antidote. They were

* *The Case of Mr. John Simson, Prof. of Divinity in the University of Glasgow*, 2d edition, Edinburgh, 1727.

indeed a sign of the times. It has been the fashion to represent him as the father of Moderatism in Scotland. He was rather a man who saw the errors rising, and discerned that the scholastic barriers were unable to resist the tide. He strove to improve the orthodox statements and make them more powerful against error. He was a broad, catholic, tolerant, and generous-minded man, who was partially sacrificed for the sake of peace and unity in the church.*

In 1725 the General Synod assembled at Dungannon and passed overtures on the subject of subscription. The Dublin ministers—J. Boyse and others—had written a private letter on the subjects coming before the Synod. This letter was attacked by MacBride and defended by Boyse. MacBride took the position that the peace and unity of the Church of Scotland (where there are above a thousand ministers) is better preserved than in any Church where no subscription to a body of Christian doctrine is required. Boyse, in reply to this, refers to the *Marrow* controversy, which was agitating the Church of Scotland, and claims that subscription has in no way secured a unity in the real doctrines of Christianity, where there has been a unity in the words or sounds by which it is expressed in the Westminster Confession.

"And I take the Freedom to tell him, that I truly fear the Subscription to that Confession, which is there so strictly required, without so much as the Allowance of the Pacific Act, will sooner or later become the fatal Engine of breaking their Amity and Peace, especially if they should ever set up an *unlimited inquisitory Power*." (Joseph Boyse, *Works*, II., p. 357, London, 1728.)

The Church of Scotland was at this time tolerant in spirit and generous in its dealings with the Marrow men, but the prediction of Boyse was speedily fulfilled, in the secession movement led by the Erskines.

* See Appendix XXV. for some of the errors charged upon him.

In 1726 the subscribers and non-subscribers came to an open rupture at Dungannon. The ministers were equally divided—thirty-six to thirty-six, with eight neutrals; but the elders were on the side of subscription. The ministers declining to subscribe were excluded, and organized themselves into the Presbytery of Antrim; but at least half of those who subscribed, did so against their better judgment, refused to enforce subscription upon others, and were determined to use the liberty of the Pacific Act, by tolerating differences about non-essentials.

VI.—THE SUBSCRIPTION CONTROVERSY IN THE SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA.

The American Presbyterian Synod remained without a constitution and without subscription until 1729. It was essentially a meeting of ministers. It only gradually assumed the functions of Presbyterian government and discipline as circumstances required. Their Presbyterianism was not of a stereotyped sort, such as was found in some of the mother churches, but was flexible, like the English and the Dublin Presbyterianism; and accordingly it developed naturally from its own inherent vitality, and adapted itself to the circumstances of the New World.

The mildness of the Synod in dealing with Robert Cross, who confessed to the sin of fornication, called forth an indignant protest from George Gillespie in 1720. This protest was answered in 1721:

"As we have been for many years in the exercise of Presbyterial government and Church discipline, as exercised by the Presbyterians in the best reformed Churches, as far as the nature and constitution of this country will allow, our opinion is, that if any brethren have any overture to offer to be formed into an act by the Synod, for the better carrying on in the matter of our government and discipline, that he may bring it in against next Synod." (*Records*, p. 68.)

Against this Answer, Dickinson, Jones, Morgan, Pierson, Webb, and David Evans, protested. After considerable debate, the Protest was withdrawn, the Synod harmonized on four articles prepared by Dickinson, and gave thanks for the composure of their difference:

"(1) We freely grant, that there is full executive power of church government in Presbyteries and Synods, and that they may authoritatively, in the name of Christ, use the keys of church discipline to all proper intents and purposes, and that the keys of the church are committed to the church officers, and them only.

"(2) We also grant, that the mere circumstantials of church discipline, such as the time, place, and mode, of carrying on in the government of the Church, belong to ecclesiastical judicatories to determine as occasions occur, conformable to the general rules in the Word of God, that require all things to be done decently and in order. And if these things are called *acts*, we will take no offence at the word, provided that these acts be not imposed upon such as conscientiously dissent from them.

"(3) We also grant that Synods may compose directories, and recommend them to all their members, respecting all the parts of discipline, provided that all subordinate judicatories may decline from such directories when they conscientiously think they have just reason so to do.

"(4) We freely allow that appeals may be made from all inferior to superior judicatories, and that superior judicatories have authority to consider and determine such appeals." (*Records*, p. 74.)

Jedediah Andrews, writing to Benjamin Colman, April 30, 1722, says:

"The business of the protestation that happened at our last Synodical meeting, I've endeavored to heal, and I hope 'twill be healed. I know not but the Pacific articles have had their good use. In short, I think the difference is in words, for I can't find any real difference, having sifted the matter in several letters which have passed between Mr. Dickinson and me upon it. I am still of the mind, as I told you before, that the squabble at New York is at the bottom, and has an evil influence on our

peace. I wish it may not do more hurt hereafter." (*MSS. of the Mass. Historical Society.* Webster, in *l. c.*, pp. 99–100.)

Jonathan Dickinson opened the Synod in 1722 with a sermon on 2 Tim. iii. 17, in which he declared that the Church had no authority to make new laws, or add to what is prescribed in the Bible. "I challenge the world to produce any such *dedimus potestatem* from Christ, or the least lisp in the Bible that countenances such a regal power." *

These pacificatory articles harmonized the two elements for a time; but the stricter sort were not satisfied, and began to agitate immediately for the furtherance of their views. The Presbytery of New Castle carried discipline with such a high hand in the case of Robert Laing, that the Synod sustained Robert Cross and Thomas Evans in their dissent. In 1724 they entered on their books a formula expressing adherence to the Westminster Confession, and their candidates were obliged to sign it at licensure in this language: "I do own the Westminster Confession as the Confession of my faith." This was an usurpation of Presbyterial power, acting independently of the Synod in the advance toward the stricter Presbyterianism. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1717, had prohibited "Autherader or any other Presbytery to require subscriptions to any formulas except those approved of by the Assembly," and cited the offending Presbytery to explain their illegal action. The subscriptionists of the Presbytery of New Castle were acting in defiance of Presbyterian law and precedent.†

These were evil times for controversy in the Synod, for two of the leading churches, Newark and New York, were in grave difficulties with their pastors; and

* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 100.

† Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, II., p. 377.

the Synod had sufficient to do in composing these differences without creating new ones.*

In this evil state of affairs John Thomson, of New Castle Presbytery, introduced an Overture in favor of subscription to the Westminster Standards:

"Now the expedient which I would humbly propose you may take is as follows: First, that the Synod, as an ecclesiastical judicature of Christ, clothed with ministerial authority to act in concert in behalf of truth and in opposition to error, would do something of this kind at such a juncture, when error seems to grow so fast, that unless we be well fortified, it is like to swallow us up. Secondly, that in pursuance hereof the Synod would, by an act of its own, publicly and authoritatively adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms, &c., for the public confession of our faith, as we are a particular organized church. Thirdly, that further, the Synod would make an act to oblige every Presbytery within their bounds, to oblige every candidate for the ministry to subscribe or otherwise acknowledge, *coram presbyterio*, the said Confession of Faith, and to promise not to preach or teach contrary to it. Fourthly, to oblige every actual minister coming among us to do the like. Fifthly, to enact, that if any minister within our bounds shall take upon him to teach or preach any thing contrary to any of the said articles, unless, first, he propose the said point to the Presbytery or Synod, to be by them discussed, he shall be censured so and so. Sixthly, let the Synod recommend it to all their members, and members to their flocks: to entertain the truth in love, to be zealous and fruitful, and to be earnest with God by prayer to preserve their vine from being spoiled by those deluding forces; which if the Synod shall see cause to do, I hope it may, through the divine blessing, prevent in a great measure, if not altogether our being deluded with the damnable errors of our times; but if not, I am afraid it may be at last infected with the errors which so much prevail elsewhere." (Hodge, *Const. Hist.*, p. 140.)

This Overture does not appear on the Minutes of the Synod. It was opposed by Andrews and the Americans

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* See p. 184.

and Welshmen, as impolitic and tending to division, and was staved off. It was brought up again by Thomson and the New Castle Presbytery in the next year, 1728, and so strongly supported that it had to be entertained. Accordingly the

"Synod judging this to be a very important affair, unanimously concluded to defer the consideration of it till the next Synod; withal recommending it to the members of each Presbytery present to give timeous notice thereof to the absent members, and it is agreed that the next be a full Synod." (*Records*, p. 91.)

The Overture was printed. John Thomson, in advocating it, says:

"We are too much like the people of Laish—in a careless, defenceless condition, as a city without walls, having never, by a conjunct act of the representatives of our Church, made it our Confession, as we are a united body politic, and there being nothing to keep out of the ministry those who are corrupt in doctrinals, or to prevent any among us from propagating gross errors."

Jonathan Dickinson at once attacked it in a letter dated April 10, 1729:

"I believe it will prove a difficult task to find so much as a proposal, much less an injunction of subscription, to any formula whatever in the primitive church, before Constantine the Great. They then found other means to detect heresies, to resist gainsayers, to propagate the truth; and to keep the church not only a garden enclosed, but a garden of peace. The Synod of Nice did indeed impose subscription; but what was the consequence, but horrible schisms, convulsions and confusions, until the church was crumbled into parts and parties, each uncharitably anathematizing one another" (p. 7). "The Presbyterian church in Ireland subsisted some ages in peace and purity, to the honour of their profession and envy of their malignant enemies; and thus might they probably have continued, had not the fire of subscription consumed their glory; and this engine of division broke them in pieces, disunited them in interest, in communion

and in charity; and rendered them the grief of their friends and the scorn of their enemies. And on the other hand, the churches of New England have all continued from their first foundation *nonsubscribers;* and yet retain their first faith and love" (p. 8). "Tho subscription may shut the door of the church communion against many serious and excellent servants of Christ who conscientiously scruple it; yet its never like to detect hypocrites, nor keep concealed hereticks out of the church" (p. 12.) "I have no worse opinion of the Assemblies Confession for the second article in the xxth chapter; *God alone is Lord of the Conscience*, &c. . . . . and I must tell you that to subscribe this article, and *impose* the rest, appears to me the most glorious contradiction" (p. 29). "Upon the whole then, tho' I have a higher opinion of the Assemblies Confession than of any other book of the kind extant in the world, yet I don't think it perfect. I know it to be the dictates of fallible men, and I know of no law either of religion or reason, that obliges me to subscribe it" (p. 32). (*Remarks upon A Discourse intituled An Overture.* Presented to the Reverend Synod of Dissenting ministers sitting in Philadelphia in the month of Sept 1728. In a letter to the author. By a member of the said Synod.)

Dickinson proposes instead of subscription (1) strict examination of candidates; (2) strict discipline in the church, especially with reference to scandalous ministers; (3) "that the ministers of the gospel be most diligent, faithful, and painful in the discharge of their awful trust." Thus the two great champions of subscription and of liberty came into open conflict. There was grave peril in the situation. Jedediah Andrews writes to Benj. Colman, April 7, 1729:

"We are engaged in the enlargement of our house, and by the assistance we had from Boston, I hope we shall go on comfortably with that work. The stone work at the foundation is laid, and all the materials are getting ready. We are now like to fall into a great difference about subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith. An overture for it, drawn up by Mr. Thompson of Lewistown was offered to our Synod the year before the last, but not then read in Synod. Means were then used to stave it

off, and I was in hopes we should have heard no more of it. But last Synod it was brought again, recommended by all the Scotch and Irish members present and being read among us, a proposal was made, prosecuted and agreed to that it should be deferred till our next meeting for further consideration. The Proposal is, that all ministers and intrants shall sign it or else be disowned as members. Now what shall we do? They will certainly carry it by number. Our countrymen say, they are willing to joyn in a vote to make it the Confession of our church, but to agree to the making it the test of orthodoxy and term of ministerial communion, they say they will not. I think all the Scots are on one side, and, all the English and Welsh on the other, to a man. Nevertheless I am not so determined as to be incapable to receive advice and I give you this account that I may have your judgment as to what I had best do in the matter. Supposing *I* do believe it, shall I on the terms above mentioned, subscribe or not? I earnestly desire you by the first opportunity to send me your opinion. Our brethren have got the overture with a preface to it, printed and I intend to send you one for the better regulation of your thoughts about it. Some say the design of this motion is, to spew out our countrymen, they being scarce able to hold way with the other brethren in all the disciplinary and legislative motions. What truth there may be in this, I know not. Some deny it, whereas others say there is something in it. I am satisfied some of us are an uneasiness to them, and are thought to be too much in their way sometimes, so that I think 't would be no trouble to lose some of us; yet I can't think this to be the thing ultimately designed, whatever smaller glances there may be at it. I have no tho't they have any design against me in particular. I have no reason for it. This business lies very heavy upon my mind, and I desire we may be directed in it, that we may not bring scandal upon our profession. Tho' I have been sometime an instrument of keeping them together when they were like to fall a pieces, I have little hope of doing so now. If it were not for the scandal of division, I should not be much against it, for the different countrymen seem to be most delighted in one another and to do best when they are by themselves. My congregation being made up of diverse nations of different sentiments, this brings me under a greater difficulty. I am afraid of the event. However I'll endeavour to do as near as I can what I understand to

be duty, and leave the issue to Providence." (Hodge, *Constitutional History*, I., p. 142.)

This letter of Andrews is a faithful portraiture of the serious state of affairs in the youthful Presbyterian Church. There were two parties in sharp antagonism, but they both dreaded the evils and perils of separation, and were thus prepared for concessions and compromise.

We have seen that the compromise measures of 1722, for which the Synod united in thanksgiving, were called *pacific* by Andrews in his letter to Colman. The brother of Craighead was chiefly influential in passing the Pacific Act in the Synod of Ireland.* During this long and fierce debate in Ireland, the Irishmen in America could not but feel deeply concerned. The original Presbytery was composed of members who had never subscribed, and never thought of imposing subscription on others. The Presbytery of New Castle had, in 1724, for the first time required subscription of *licentiates*. The New England men and Welshmen were opposed to subscription. Dickinson agreed in his views with Calamy, of London, and Boyse, of Dublin. But they saw the serious evils connected with the battle of subscribers and non-subscribers in London and in Ireland; and they feared rupture in the infant Church of America, and were disposed to yield, so far as possible, for the sake of the Church and religion in the land.

This was the state of feeling when the Synod met at Philadelphia in 1729. Twenty members were present and seven absent. The Committee for the Fund were Andrews, Dickinson, Pierson, Thomson, Anderson, Craighead, Conn, and John Budd (ruling elder). The "affair relating to the Confession was referred to them

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* See p. 205.

to draw up an overture." This committee was admirable in composition. The strong subscriptionists were Thomson and Anderson. The anti-subscriptionists were Dickinson and Pierson. The intermediate men were Andrews and John Budd, Americans, and Craighead and Conn from Ireland. Craighead had come to the American Presbytery by way of New England from Ireland, and Conn by way of London from Ireland. Craighead and Conn naturally inclined to the Irish Pacific Act. Pierson, as we should judge from his letter to Colman, would join with them. Ruling elders, in America, generally favor pacific acts. The extreme men were therefore forced to compromise or separate. The result was unanimity. It is said that Dickinson so shaped the Adopting Act as to make it satisfactory to all parties. As he was the author of the Pacificatory articles of 1722, so now he was chiefly instrumental in the Adopting Act of 1729. Dickinson was the ablest man in the American Presbyterian Church in the colonial period. It is due chiefly to him that the Church became an American Presbyterian Church, and that it was not split into fragments representing and perpetuating the differences of Presbyterians in the mother countries of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and the several parties in those countries.

VII.—THE ADOPTING ACT.

We shall compare the Adopting Act of the American Presbyterian Synod of 1729 with the Irish Pacific Articles of 1720, in order to show that the former was constructed in view of the latter, and that it was designed to improve upon them as a pacific paper, and to accomplish what the latter did not accomplish, owing to certain defects which were removed by the Adopting Act.

The Preambles.

Irish Pacific Act.

Whereas there has been a surmise of a design to lay aside the Westminster Confession of Faith and our Larger and Shorter Catechisms, we of this Synod do unanimously declare that none of us have or had such a design; but on the contrary, as we do still adhere to the said Confession and Catechisms,—

American Adopting Act.

Although the Synod do not claim or pretend to any authority of imposing our faith upon other men's consciences, but do profess our just dissatisfaction with, and abhorrence of, such impositions, and do utterly disclaim all legislative power and authority in the Church, being willing to receive one another as Christ has received us to the glory of God, and admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances, all such as we have grounds to believe Christ will at last admit to the kingdom of heaven, yet we are undoubtedly obliged to take care that the faith once delivered to the saints be kept pure and uncorrupt among us, and so handed down to our posterity;—

The American Preamble is in the spirit of Dickinson, Calamy, and Boyse, and the fathers of the original American Presbytery. It is an improvement on the Irish Act. If the American Preamble had been used in Ireland, the Irish Presbyterians might possibly have held together.

The Acts.

The Irish Pacific Act.

—so we do earnestly recommend to all under our care to have in their custody and carefully peruse them and train up their children in the knowledge of

The American Adopting Act.

—and do therefore agree that all the ministers of this Synod, or that shall hereafter be admitted into this Synod, shall declare their agreement in, and appro-

them; and if any have spoken disrespectfully or tending to disparage them, we strictly forbid any such thing to be done for the future, and that our people should be assured of this as the unanimous judgment of the Synod, for removing all jealousies they have had of any person on that account; and we heartily recommend and enjoin the said Confession (as being a good abridgment of the Christian doctrines contained in the sacred Scriptures,) to be observed according to an Act of the General Synod in the year 1705. (Here a copy of the Act of 1705 is inserted.)

bation of, the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the confession of our faith. And we do also agree, that all the Presbyteries within our bounds shall always take care not to admit any candidate of the ministry into the exercise of the sacred function but what declares his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession, either by subscribing the said Confession of Faith and Catechisms, or by a verbal declaration of their assent thereto, as such minister or candidate shall think best.

This Adopting Act is carefully framed. The Scotch Adopting Act of 1690 uses the phrase "*as containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches.*" The Irish Pacific Act contains the clause "*as being a good abridgment of the Christian doctrines contained in the sacred Scriptures.*" The American Adopting Act gives the phrase "*as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine.*" The American expression has two sides. The latter, "*good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine,*" is of the same essential character as the Irish and Scotch acts. There is an

important difference, however. The Scotch Act refers to the *doctrine of the Reformed Churches*, the Irish Act to *Christian doctrines*, and our American Act agrees with the latter, and not the former. The American Act, however, gives a still further qualification to its adoption. The Confession is not such in *all* its articles, but only in "*all the essential and necessary articles.*" The subscription is therefore limited to *essential* and *necessary* articles. The full import of this we shall consider further on.

Exceptions.

The Irish Pacific Act.

—which is thus to be understood as now is practised by the Presbyteries, that if any person called upon to subscribe shall scruple any phrase or phrases in the Confession, he shall have leave to use his own expressions, which the Presbytery shall accept of, providing they judge such a person sound in the faith, and that such expressions are consistent with the substance of the doctrine, and that such explications shall be inserted in the Presbytery books; and that this be a rule not only in relation to candidates licensed by ourselves, but all intrants into the ministry among us, tho' they have been licensed or ordained elsewhere.

The American Adopting Act.

And in case any minister of this Synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have any scruple with respect to any article or articles of said Confession or Catechisms, he shall at the time of his making said declaration declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds and to ministerial communion, if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge such scruple or mistake to be only about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government. But if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge such ministers or candidates erroneous in essential and necessary articles of faith, the Synod or Presbytery shall declare them incapable of communion with them. And the Synod do solemnly agree

> that none of us will traduce or use any opprobrious terms of those that differ from us in these extra-essential and not necessary points of doctrine, but treat them with the same friendship, kindness, and brotherly love, as if they had not differed from us in such sentiments.

There is great resemblance here in the most important part of these acts. They both admit of *scruples* against the Confession and Catechisms. They both define how far these are legitimate. The Irish Act allows scruple with regard to "*any phrase or phrases*," and he shall have leave to use his "*own expressions*." They do not require *verbal subscription*. The Presbytery shall judge whether such *expressions* are consistent with "*substance of doctrine*." They require the *substance* only. The American Act is still more liberal in its provisions. The scruple is "*with respect to any article or articles*," not merely *phrases*. The Presbytery shall judge whether the scruple is about articles "*not essential and necessary*." They require subscription only to *necessary and essential articles*, and they agree not to traduce or use opprobrious terms of those that differ from us in these "*extra-essential and not necessary points of doctrine*." The articles are therefore points of doctrine. The act discriminates between *essential points* of doctrine, and *extra-essential and non-essential points*. It requires subscription only to the former, and reserves the right of defining what these are in any particular case. This Adopting Act was adopted unanimously, and the Synod gave thanks.

On the 22d the Synod resolved:

"The Synod do unanimously acknowledge and declare, that they judge the Directory for Worship, Discipline, and Govern-

ment of the Church commonly annexed to the Westminster Confession, to be agreeable in substance to the Word of God, and founded thereupon, and therefore do earnestly recommend the same to all their members, to be by them observed as near as circumstances will allow, and Christian prudence direct."

This is not the *jure divino* Presbyterianism, which had been generally abandoned in Scotland, and which was never put in practice in England or Ireland, but it is a *substantial, prudential Presbyterianism, "as near as circumstances will allow, and Christian prudence direct."* This is really a repetition of the phrase of 1721, *"as far as the nature and constitution of this country will allow."**

By the Adopting Act, American Presbyterianism steered safely through the troubled waters that split Irish Presbyterians and English Presbyterians into two irreconcilable parties. Would that the spirit of the Adopting Act had always prevailed in the Church, and that the peace so happily accomplished by the genius of Jonathan Dickinson, might have been perpetual. Would that agreement in the *essential and necessary articles* of the Westminster Standards had ever prevented strife and disunion on account of difference with respect to unessential and unnecessary articles. This phrase is the pivot of the history of the American Presbyterian Church.

It was designed to adapt the best Presbyterian models to American soil, and not to strive to force Scotch, Irish, Welsh, or English types of Presbyterianism upon the new country. Still less was it in contemplation to constrain the infant American Church into conformity with an ideal system such as it had been found impossible to realize in the best Reformed Churches.

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* See p. 208.

CHAPTER VI.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM DIVIDED.

THE two sides of Presbyterianism which had developed on American soil were harmonized for a while in the Synod of Philadelphia by the Adopting Act; and they continued to work together for many years, not without friction. The New Castle Presbytery and its daughter Donegal were not satisfied. As they had begun the movement for subscription, they began a movement for strict interpretation. They followed in the path of the subscriptionists in Ireland, and advanced into a conflict which could only result in division and separation. In 1730 the New Castle Presbytery required *verbal subscription* of its members, and in 1732 the Donegal Presbytery followed its example, acting in both cases without authority from Synod, and in violation of the terms of the Adopting Act.

I.—THE DIVISION OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN CAROLINA.

Presbyterianism in Carolina went through the same internal struggles as those which agitated the Synod of Philadelphia. But they were more rapid in their development, and brought about an earlier division in the Church. The Presbytery of James Island was constituted in 1722–3 by Stobo, Fisher, and others.*

* There is no sufficient evidence that there was a Presbytery earlier than this. The clergy of South Carolina wrote to the Secretary of the S. P. G., Oct. 10, 1721, that the dissenting teachers "are endeavouring to settle a Presbytery and form of church government according to the church of Scotland, which they insinuate to be as much established here by virtue of the Union as is the church

An application was made to the Synod of Glasgow, October, 1723, from the parish of Edisto Island, S. C., and an adjoining parish, with two calls for ministers in blank. The Synod earnestly endeavored to secure them.* After some difficulty they sent over Mr. John

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of England, altho the church of England is established here by the particular laws of the province." (See Letter Book S. P. G., XV., p. 59.) The author of the *Hist. Acct. of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, Vol. II., p. 52, 1779, says: "An association had been formed in favour of this mode of worship (e. g. Presbyterian) by Mess. Stobo, Fisher and Witherspoon, three ministers of the Church of Scotland together with Joseph Stanyarn and Joseph Blake, men of respectable characters and considerable fortunes. The Presbyterians had already erected churches at Charlestown, Wiltown, and on three of the maritime islands for the use of the people adhering to that form of worship. As the inhabitants multiplied, several more in different parts of the province afterwards joined them and built churches, particularly at Jacksonsburgh, Indian Town, Port Royal and Williamsburgh." The statement of this historian is inaccurate; for Witherspoon did not arrive in the colony from Scotland until 1727. He probably has mistaken Witherspoon for Livingston, who was pastor of the church in Charleston in 1722. It is clear from William Maxwell's Letter (Wodrow MSS., XXII., 124) that he became connected with the Presbytery immediately on his arrival in 1724; Nathan Bassett united with the Presbytery the same year. (See Letter of Ordination in Appendix XXVI., and also Fisher's *Divine Right of Private Judgment set in a True Light*, 1731, p. 97.) It is also unlikely that there should be no mention of the Presbytery of James Island in the minutes of the Synod of Glasgow in 1723, if they knew of the existence of the Presbytery. It was probably constituted late in 1722 or early in 1723. The Letter Book of the S. P. G., also contains a petition of Archibald Stobo, under date of 1722, to the House of Representatives of the province, stating that he had been a resident twenty-one years, and was now minister of the gospel at Willtown in Colleton Co., and petitions that the Established Church of Scotland should be on the same footing as the Established Church of England.

* The minutes of the Synod of Glasgow contain the following records: "Oct. 1st, 1723. Prof. Simpson informed the Synod that there is a gentleman in this country come from South Carolina in America, who shows that some there are very disposed to have the gospel preached among them and that he makes very encouraging offers to any two well qualified persons who will go there to preach the gospel. The Synod remit to their Committee for Overtures to see the grounds of the said encouragement and accordingly to see to find and deal with fit persons to go to that country. Oct. 3, 1723. It was reported that Mr. Paul Hamilton was come over from South Carolina instructed from the parish of Edisto Island and from the next neighboring parish with two calls blank as to the persons to be called; desiring two well qualified preachers may be dealt with to accept those calls, and then ordained ministers for those parishes; and having also exhibited security for sufficient stipend, glebe and manse

Deane and Mr. William Maxwell. These settled in the two parishes. Deane very soon died, and Maxwell failed to satisfy the people at Edisto Island; and so in the autumn of 1725 he removed to Barnsted Downs with the advice of the Presbytery.*

There must have been considerable activity among the Presbyterians at this time. Livingston, of Charleston, earnestly sought for an assistant on account of ill health, and made application to the Board of the Presbyterian Fund, London, who had sent him out to Charleston some years previous. These consulted with the Congregational Fund Board, but for some unknown reason did not succeed.† It is noteworthy that Congre-

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for these ministers and offering to take them along with him, and defraying their passage; and said Mr. Hamilton having applied to the Presbytery of Glasgow before the sitting of this Synod who made the proposal to two or three well qualified preachers who had the matter under consideration. And the affair being moved in the Synod, was referred to the Com. for Overtures who called before them three probationers, Mr. James Miller, John Stark and Gilbert Craig and especially dealt with them to comply with the said call and did overture to the Synod that any of the said preachers, one or two that would be prevailed with, should be sent in mission for this Synod to the parishes in South Carolina to labour there in the work of the gospel, and if they find the climate did not agree with their health or that other circumstances hindered them from labouring in the work of the Lord, comfortably for a longer time, they shall then be allowed to return home. And the Synod considering the great importance of this work whereby the gospel may be promoted in foreign parts, among people who seem to be so earnest to enjoy pure gospel ordinances which gives the missionaries hope that they might be more useful there than in their own country. They do with the greatest earnestness recommend to the consideration of the said preachers the clear and loud call of Providence to them, and cannot but hope and report they will find it their duty to comply therewith. The Synod did also empower the Presbytery of Glasgow to meet in Presbytery to deal with them and appoint such as are willing to go to preach before them and if satisfied ordain them." (*MS. Minutes of the Synod of Glasgow.*)

* See *Letter of Maxwell* in Wodrow MSS., XXII., 124.

† April 2, 1722, the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board contain the following record: "On motion of Mr. Martyn it was agreed that Mr. Tong, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Mount be desired to consult some of the gentlemen of the other Fund about sending over an assistant to Mr. Livingston at Charlestown in S. C. and that they report of it at the next meeting." The committee made no report, and nothing seems to have been accomplished.

gationalists and Presbyterians were regarded as having equal rights in that church. However, the New England ministers were more successful. April 14, 1724, Nathan Bassett, a graduate of Harvard College, was ordained by the Boston ministers, and sent to Charleston in place of Livingston, who had just died.*

The Synod of Glasgow continued to exert itself in behalf of the Presbytery in South Carolina. In April, 1726, the death of John Deane was reported to it by the Presbytery of James Island, and it was ordered that a collection be taken to send a probationer thither. October, 1727, John Witherspoon was sent by the Synod, and his *viaticum* was paid by them.† About the same time Josiah Smith was induced to leave the Bermudas, where he was pastor, and settle at Cainhoy in South Carolina.‡

* See Appendix XXV. for the Letter of Ordination of Bassett.

† *MS. Minutes of the Synod of Glasgow.*

‡ Benjamin Colman gives him a very strong recommendation (see his *Preface to a Discourse delivered at Boston on July* 11, 1726, then occasioned by the author's ordination, and now published at the request of several gentlemen who were present at the delivery of it; by Josiah Smith, B.A., and pastor of the church in Bermuda; Boston, 1726.) Colman says that Josiah Smith was the son of a worthy father, who removed to Bermuda with him in his childhood. He was anxious to secure a pastor for the Bermuda church from New England, but failed. Subsequently James Paul, from Great Britain, became minister. Mr. Smith brought his son to be educated at the grammar-school at Cambridge, and at Harvard College, where he took his degree. He returned to Bermuda to assist Mr. Paul. After a brief ministry he returned to New England, and was ordained by the Boston ministers. "No one has risen among us and gone from us so suddenly, with like esteem, affection, and applause, as Mr. Smith has done." "It is an honour to our college to have such a son to boast of among the islands." Mr. Smith was an intimate of Mr. Bassett, and probably was drawn to South Carolina by his influence. In a *Sermon* (*delivered at Charlestown, in South Carolina, the Lord's day after the funeral, and sacred to the memory of the Reverend Mr. Nathan Bassett, who exchang'd this life for a better life, June* 26, 1738; by Josiah Smith; Boston, 1739), Smith says: "We were cotemporary, and studied together at the same university, there we commenced that acquaintance, which nothing but death, for 16 pleasant years, could terminate or dissolve. . . . . We were set apart to the ministry in the *same pulpit*, and, if I mistake not, by the imposition of the same hands. . . . . We have for some years ministered together in *this* place of worship."

The controversy about subscription arose in the Presbytery of James Island, in the year 1727. It continued for a long time in private debates* between Mr. Porter and Mr. Bassett on the one hand, and Mr. Fisher on the other. Josiah Smith, when he arrived and joined the Presbytery, took an active part with his friend Bassett. Bassett preached a sermon before the Presbytery asserting the right of private judgment, and opposing the imposition of human opinions on others. He took the ground that ministers

"must teach with meekness and humility as *fallible* men. They must not dictate or impose their own interpretations or sense of Scripture on their hearers, for the rule of faith and practice, in controverted and disputable points. . . . . They must so teach as to leave men to, as every man undoubtedly has the right of private judgment; . . . . And not arrogantly impose what we advance as equal with the inspired writings, as to its infallibility. . . . . But we are to make use of the same gentle methods of teaching, that Christ and his apostles did: the soft and easy way of argument and persuasion." (Bassett gives this statement of his sermon in his Appendix to Josiah Smith's *Divine Right of Private Judgment Vindicated*, Boston, 1730.)

Hugh Fisher took exception to the sermon in the Presbytery. On March 5, 1728(9), Josiah Smith preached before the Presbytery a sermon which created so much excitement that it was deemed best to publish it.†

He takes the following position:

"I would ever make the *Scripture* my supreme rule, and my reason the eye to direct me by it: for as a rule is useless without the eye, so is Scripture without reason. I am far from pre-

* Fisher, *Divine right of private judgment set in a true light*, 1731, pp. 94, 97.

† It is entitled, *Humane Impositions proved unscriptural, or the divine right of private judgment. A Sermon preached at the opening of a Presbytery in Charlestown, in the Province of South Carolina, March* 5, 1728(9). By Josiah Smith, M.A., now pastor of the Dissenting church at Cainhoy. Boston, 1729.

tending to exalt reason above Revelation. But Reason is absolutely necessary to improve Revelation to its proper end. I would also honour Synods and Councils as they preserve a mutual agreement among pastors, and are of vast service in the illustration of Scripture; a standing evidence whereof is that excellent composure the Westminster Confession of Faith. 'Tis only the imposing power I reject." (Page 11.)

To this sermon Hugh Fisher immediately replied.* Smith rejoined,† and met the suspicions as to his orthodoxy by the following statement:

"As to my soundness in the faith; if the subjects I have preach'd upon, in several parts of the *province*, the sermons I have lately published and dispers'd, the constant use I make of the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism* in my own church, and the very great value I have always expressed for it; if this can give satisfaction, I have given enough. But if nothing less than a manifest invasion upon the rights of conscience, and the imposition of *my* judgment upon others, can give me the title of an orthodox minister, I must be content to go without it." (Page 51.)

Fisher responded in a sharp attack upon the principles of non-subscription,‡ and seems to have prevailed in the Presbytery, and even among the laymen of Smith's congregation. The Scotsmen and Irishmen were alarmed on account of the progress of heterodoxy in the old world, and they were determined to protect themselves from error. Accordingly there was a division between the two elements. The New England men separated, and Bassett and Smith labored together for some time in the church at Charleston, which adhered to the side of non-subscription, while a section left it to organize a Scots congregation.

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* *A Preservative against dangerous errors*, Boston, 1729.

† *The Divine Right of Private Judgment Vindicated*, Boston, 1730. Also, *No new thing to be slandered, &c., Preached at Cainhoy September* 27, 1730. Boston, 1730.

‡ *The Divine right of private Judgment set in a true light*, Boston, 1731.

II.—DIVISION OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

For a considerable time the Irish Presbyterians who had settled in Eastern Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire* managed their affairs without a Presbytery. It seems that the Presbytery of Londonderry was constituted in or about the year 1729. The ministers who organized it were probably James McGregorie† and Edward Fitzgerald, sole survivors of the original immigrants, Le Mercier, pastor of the Huguenot church of Boston, and some others. Soon after its organization, March 30, 1730, it ordained John Moorehead ‡ to the charge of the Presbyterian church he was gathering in Boston. The Synod of Philadelphia received a letter from "the committee of the new erection at Boston," in 1730, and Mr. Craighead was ordered to reply. In 1729 Mathew Clarke arrived from Ireland, and was received into the Presbytery. He became the successor of McGregorie, at Londonderry.§

In this same year Samuel Rutherford removed from Ireland with a colony and settled in Maine. He preached at Bristol, Pemaquid, and Brunswick. It is possible that these two ministers took part in the organization of the Presbytery of Londonderry. William Johnson arrived from Ireland, and was installed at Worcester; soon afterwards Thompson, a probationer of the Presbytery of Tyrone, Ireland, was received, and ordained by the Presbytery, Oct. 10, 1733; and Joseph

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*See p. 189. †See p. 189. McGregorie died March 5, 1729.

‡ Moorehead was born at Newton, near Belfast, Ireland. He offered himself to the Synod of Philadelphia in 1720 (*Records*, p. 60), but they declined to recognize his certificate of ordination, and refused to receive him. (See Letter of Gillespie in Appendix XXII.) He removed to Boston, and endeavored to organize a Presbyterian church there.

§ The Presbytery of Coleraine reported to the Synod of Ulster that he was loosed from his church April 29, 1729, to go to America.

Harvey, June 5, 1734. John Wilson was settled by the Presbytery at Chester, N. H., in 1734.* William McLenahan joined Rutherford, in Maine, in 1734, and settled at Cape Elizabeth.†

In 1736 a conflict arose in the Presbytery over the case of James Hillhouse. He was an ordained minister from Scotland, who had served as pastor of the Congregational church at New London, Connecticut, for some years. An *ex parte* Council of the neighboring ministers ordered him to resign his charge. This he declined to do, and resolutely retained his position. He applied to the Presbytery of Londonderry for admission. At a meeting of the Presbytery in 1736, when but five ministers were present, he was admitted by a majority of one vote, only Harvey and Moorehead of the ministerial members voting for him. The majority was gained through the votes of the elders. The Presbytery also at this meeting ordained David McGregorie, son of the Father of the Presbytery. Three of the ministers present protested. At the next meeting of the Presbytery the contest was renewed. Moorehead, Harvey, Hillhouse, and McGregorie were on one side; Le Mercier, Thompson, Wilson, McLenahan, Johnston, and Rutherford were on the other side. The majority refused to recognize Hillhouse and McGregorie, and they suspended Moorehouse and Harvey, thus breaking the Presbytery into two bodies.‡ The majority were actuated by the desire to recognize the validity of the action of the Congregational Council, and to maintain a good understanding with the Congregational brethren. Their motives were admirable; but they carried out their views in an

* He was probably son of the John Wilson who removed from the bounds of the Synod of Philadelphia to Boston in 1729. (See p. 191.)

† See Blaikie, in *l. c.*, pp. 54, 59, 88, 91.

‡ Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 119; Blaikie, in *l. c.*, pp. 83 *seq.*

arbitrary and unreasonable fashion. There can be little doubt that Moorehead and Harvey acted with great indiscretion and with undue haste in taking advantage of an accidental majority at a slender meeting of the Presbytery, where the majority of the ministers were against them; but this did not justify the refusal to recognize the acts of that meeting as valid, or the suspension of those who had sustained them.

III.—THE FIRST HERESY TRIAL.

The movement in favor of strict subscription in the Synod of Philadelphia was hurried on by their first heresy trial, which showed that the errors of England, Ireland, and Scotland were on their way to America. In 1734, Samuel Hemphill was received by the Synod of Philadelphia from the Presbytery of Strabane, Ireland.* He was invited to preach as an assistant to Andrews in Philadelphia, but was soon found to be an unsound and unprincipled man. He preached the sermons of Samuel Clark, Ibbots, and Foster.† The case was brought be-

* He was taken under the care of the Presbytery Oct. 14, 1728. He was entered a student at the University of Glasgow—Scoto-Hibernus, March 5, 1716, 1st class. He subscribed the Westminster Confession of Faith, according to the Synodical formula: "I believe the Westminster Confession of Faith to be agreeable to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and founded thereupon and as such I own it to be the confession of my faith. Subscribed Sam. Hemphill." (See *MS. Minutes Presbytery of Strabane*, McGee College Library, Londonderry.) He was thereupon licensed and so reported to the Synod, May 12, 1730. The Presbytery of Strabane reported to the Sub-Synod of Derry, May 13, 1735, that they had "ordained Mr. Samuel Hemphill for America, he subscribed the Confession of faith." (*MS. Minutes of Synod of Derry*, in Assembly's College, Belfast.)

† The plagiarism is explained in *Remarks upon the Defence of the Rev. Mr. Hemphill's Observations in a letter to a friend*, &c., by Obadiah Jenkins, Philadelphia, 1735: "If you will but take pains to compare, as others have done, you'll find that His sermon on Mark xvi. 16 was borrowed (or rather stolen) from Dr. Clarke, an open Arian; His sermons on Gal. vi. 15, on Rom. viii. 18 and on Ps. xli. 4 from Clarke's assistant Dr. Ibbotts; and his sermon on Acts xxiv. 25 from Mr. Foster." (p. 18.)

fore the Commission of Synod, which in that year was composed of Andrews, Thomson, Pierson, Craighead, Anderson, Boyd, Gillespie, Dickinson, and Cross. Andrews presented six Articles charging Hemphill with preaching: (1) that Christianity is nothing else but a revival or new edition of the laws and precepts of nature, except the two sacraments and the mediatorship of Christ; (2) the denial of the necessity of conversion to those born in the Church; (3) against the merits and satisfaction of Christ; (4) that faith was but an assent to, or persuasion of, the Gospel on rational grounds; (5) all honest heathen could be saved; (6) subversion of justification by faith.* Benjamin Franklin espoused Hemphill's cause and wrote *A Letter to a Friend in the Country*, containing the substance of a sermon preached at Philadelphia to the congregation of the Rev. Mr. Hemphill. This was replied to by Dickinson in *Remarks upon a Pamphlet entitled A Letter*, etc., Philadelphia, 1735, defending the commission. Franklin then printed *Some Observations on the Proceedings of the Commission*, etc. This was replied to by a *Vindication of the Reverend Commission of the Synod*, Philadelphia, 1735. There was no difference of opinion in the Synod as to the case of Mr. Hemphill. It was seen by all that he was an Arminian and Socinian, and was in the Deistic drift.

* The Commission as actually present were, Ebenezer Pemberton, Moderator, Thos. Craighead, Robt. Cross, John Pierson, James Anderson, Geo. Gillespie, and John Thomson, April 17, 1735. His sermons on Rom. viii. 38, Acts xxiv. 25, Mark xvi. 16, Acts x. 34-35, Ps. xli. 4, Eph. iii. 8, were taken in evidence. The charges were sustained, and it was unanimously agreed "that Mr. Hemphill be suspended from all the parts of his ministerial office until the next meeting of our Synod, and that it be referred to the Synod to judge when met whether the suspension shall be continued or taken off, or whatever else shall be judged needful to be done, according as things shall then appear: And accordingly we do suspend the said Mr. Samuel Hemphill as above." (See *An Extract of the Minutes of the Commission of the Synod relating to the affair of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hemphill.* Published by order, Philadelphia, 1735.)

The case is important as the first heresy trial in the American Presbyterian Church, and for the interpretation of the Adopting Act therein involved, and also for the influence it had in increasing the anxiety of the Scotch and Irish brethren to prevent such inroads in the future.

Dickinson in his pamphlet gives the Adopting Act in an appendix, and refers to it thus:

"Let it be remembered that we allow no power in any church or religious society, to determine what articles of religion are, or what are not, essential to salvation, for any but themselves, and those that are willing to join with them upon their own principles. We allow of no Confession of Faith as a test of orthodoxy for others, but only as a declaration of our own sentiments; nor may this be imposed upon the members of our own society, nor their assent required to anything as a condition of their communion with us, but what we esteem essentially necessary." (p. 26.)

The Vindication calls attention to the claim of Mr. Hemphill that

"All he declared to at his admission into the Synod, were the fundamental articles of the Confession of Faith, when it is certainly true, and can be attested by above forty members of the Synod then present, that he solemnly declared his assent to every article in the Westminster Confession of Faith and in the Larger and Shorter Catechisms without one exception, and assured us he had before subscribed the same in Ireland." (pp. 22–24.)*

After referring to the Adopting Act and citing its allowance of scruples, it goes on to say:

"By which it appears that if Mr. Hemphill had any objection to make against anything in the Confession or Catechisms, he

* This case of Hemphill confirmed the view of Dickinson (see p. 213) that "tho' subscription may shut the door of the church communion against many serious and excellent servants of Christ who conscientiously scruple; yet its never like to detect hypocrites, nor keep concealed hereticks out of the church." Hemphill had fulfilled the requisitions of the strictest subscriptionists, but in vain.

should have particularly offered his objections, and submitted it to the judgment of the Synod, whether the articles objected against were essential and necessary or not: and accordingly, at the time of his adopting the Confession and Catechisms, he was called upon to propose his objections, if he had any; but he replied he had none to make, and that he had before subscribed the same in Ireland, as before hinted. . . . . Nor is it any excuse that the Synod have not defined how many fundamental articles there are in the Confession, since they have reserved to themselves the liberty to judge upon each occasion what are, and what are not, fundamental."

From this it is clear that the Synod maintained the principles of the Adopting Act, and had not abandoned it. It was necessary, however, to guard it against the perversion that the Synod gave to every individual the right to determine what was essential and non-essential. On the other hand, it had expressly reserved to itself that right.

The Synod were deeply grieved about this matter, and especially that they had been imposed upon by clean papers of an Irish Presbytery, and they accordingly passed the following overture to be sent to the Synod of Ulster:

"That seeing we are likely to have the most of our supply of ministers to fill our vacancies from the North of Ireland, and seeing it is too evident to be denied and called in question, that we are in great danger of being imposed upon by ministers and preachers from thence, though sufficiently furnished with all formalities of Presbyterial credentials, as in the case of Mr. Hemphill, ...

"(1) That no minister or probationer coming in among us from Europe, be allowed to preach in vacant congregations until first his credentials and recommendations be seen and approven by the Presbytery unto which such congregation doth most properly belong, and until he preach with approbation before said Presbytery, and subscribe or adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms before said Presbytery, in manner and

form as they have done; and that no minister employ such to preach in his pulpit until he see his credentials, and be satisfied, as far as may be, of his firm attachment to said Confession, &c., in opposition to the new upstart doctrines and schemes, particularly such as we condemned in Mr. Hemphill's sermons. . . . .

"(5) That the Synod would bear testimony against the late too common, and now altogether unnecessary practice of some Presbyteries in the North of Ireland, viz: their ordaining men to the ministry *sine titulo*, immediately before they come over hither, thereby depriving us of our just rights. . . . .

"That in said letter or writing to the General Synod of Ireland, that we earnestly desire, that when ministers or probationers are about to come from thence to us, they would besides their Presbyterial credentials, procure also private letters of recommendation from some brethren there, who are well known to some of our brethren here, to be firmly attached to our good old principles and schemes. . . . .

"And that the Synod do also advertise the General Synod in Ireland, that the ordaining any such to the ministry *sine titulo* before their sending them hither for the future, will be very disagreeable and disobliging to us."

It is noteworthy that the Synod does not complain of the Presbyteries of Antrim and Dublin, where non-subscription was the rule, but of the General Synod of Ulster, from one of whose subscribing Presbyteries, Strabane, the first heretic had come to the American Presbyterian Church.* The spirit of the American Synod is worthy of all admiration. They were not disposed to allow the Irish Presbyteries to get rid of their troublesome members by consigning them to the care of the

* The Minutes of the Synod of Ulster, June 15, 1736, contain the following record: "A letter from the Synod of Philadelphia in America directed to this Synod was now read, ordered that the following brethren Mess. Cobham, Gilb. Kennedy, Tho. Kennedy, Jno. Sterling, Alex. Brown, Arch. Maclaine and Geo. Cheny do draw up an answer to said letter." The Com. desired instructions. These were given them. They brought in the draft of a letter which was approved. The clerk was appointed "to transcribe it and subscribe it in the Synods name and send it by the first fit occasion." The letter is not recorded in the Minutes and has disappeared from the documents of the Synod of Philadelphia.

American Synod. They preferred to ordain the candidates themselves, and were not willing to have the Irish Presbyteries do their testing and ordination of candidates for them. The American Synod had adopted a constitution, and had taken its position in the sisterhood of Churches, and was not willing to be imposed upon by foreign Presbyteries.

IV.—THE STRUGGLE FOR STRICT SUBSCRIPTION.

The movement for strict subscription advanced in the Synod of Philadelphia so far that in 1736 the Synod passed a declaratory act of interpretation of their adopting act as follows:

"That the Synod do declare, that inasmuch as we understand that many persons of our persuasion, both more lately and formerly, have been offended with some expressions or distinctions in the first or preliminary act of our Synod, contained in the printed paper, relating to our receiving or adopting the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, &c.: that in order to remove said offence, and all jealousies that have arisen or may arise in any of our people's minds, on occasion of said distinctions and expressions, the Synod doth declare, that the Synod have adopted & still do adhere to the Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, without the least variation or alteration, and without regard to said distinctions. And we do further declare, that this was our meaning and true intent in our first adopting of said Confession as may particularly appear by our adopting act which is as followeth: All the ministers of the Synod now present, (which were 18 in number, except one that declared himself not prepared,) after proposing all the scruples any of them had to make against any articles and expressions in the Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, have unanimously agreed in the solution of these scruples, and in declaring the said Confessions and Catechisms to be the Confession of their faith, except only some clauses in the 20th and 23d chapters, concerning which clauses the Synod do unanimously declare, that they do not receive these articles in any such sense as to suppose the civil magistrate

hath a controlling power over Synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or power to persecute any for their religion, or in any sense contrary to the Protestant succession to the throne of Great Britain. And we hope and desire, that this our synodical declaration and explication may satisfy all our people, as to our firm attachment to our good old received doctrines contained in said confession, without the least variation or alteration, and that they will lay aside their jealousies that have been entertained through occasion of the above hinted expressions and declarations as groundless. This overture approved *nemine contradicente.*"

This declaration is skillfully drawn up. It doubtless expresses the truth when it states that, the only scruples in the body were against some clauses in Chapters XX. and XXIII. of the Confession of Faith; and that, the members of the Synod did really accept and adopt the rest of the Standards "without the least variation or alteration and without regard to said distinctions" (extra-essential and non-essential); and that there were no scruples in the body with reference to the other doctrines of the Confession. But the question was not with reference to the scruples that were allowed against Chapters XX. and XXIII.; but whether scruples would be allowed against any other chapters or sections at any subsequent time. The Adopting Act did not determine the extent to which the scruples should be carried, by designating particular chapters; but by distinguishing between *essential*, and *extra-essential* and *non-essential* doctrines. It allowed scruples with reference to the latter whenever they should arise, and against whatever chapter they might arise; reserving to the Presbytery and the Synod the right to determine whether the scruples were against *essential* doctrines or *non-essential* and *extra-essential* doctrines. This act does not antagonize the Adopting Act, but it points in the direction of strict subscription. It was doubtless so designed, and

has been generally so interpreted. It was, however, so phrased that liberal subscriptionists, whose scruples as to certain sections had been allowed, could hardly oppose it without giving occasion to the suspicion that they had other scruples which they had not made known. It should also be said that this was really not only a minority Synod, but a Synod composed of strict subscriptionists. The liberal subscriptionists, with their chief, Jonathan Dickinson, were absent.*

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* Those present were Thomas Craighead, John Thomson, Joseph Houston, Robert Cathcart, Andrew Boyd, Robert Cross, Robert Jamison, Hugh Carlile, James Martin, William Bertram, Alex. Craighead, John Paul, William Tennent, Senior, William Tennent, Junior, all Irishmen; James Anderson, Hugh Stevenson, Scotsmen; David Evans, a Welshman, and Jedediah Andrews, Richard Treat, and Ebenezer Gould, New England men—or in all 20. Of these only the two Tennents and Treat joined the new side; Alex. Craighead separated from both sides; but Thomson, Cathcart, Boyd, Cross, Jamison, Martin were on the old side in the subsequent rupture, and the others, who still remained in the Synod, went with them. The absent ones were: Pumroy, Dickinson, Pierson, Webb, Pemberton, Hubbel, Horton, Wales, Morgan, Chalker, Nutman, New England men; Gillespie, John Cross, Hutcheson, Scotsmen; Gilbert Tennent, Blair, Hook, Conn, Glascow, Irishmen; Thomas Evans, Welsh, and Orme, English—in all 21. Only two of these, Gillespie and Hugh Conn, subsequently joined the old side, and they were absent from the Synod when the division took place, and Gillespie was not in sympathy with the Cross protest. All of the remaining 20 who continued with the Synod united with the new side.

The following ministers, among the above named, had entered the Synod since the passage of the Adopting Act. I. From *New England:* (1) *Eleazar Wales*, a graduate of Yale in 1727, settled at Allentown, N. J., in 1730; (2) *Richard Treat*, graduate of Yale in 1725, settled at Abington, Pa., 1731; (3) *John Nutman*, graduate of Yale, 1727, settled at Hanover, N. J., in 1730; (4) *Isaac Chalker*, graduate of Yale, 1728, settled at Bethlehem, N. Y., in 1734; (5) *Simeon Horton*, graduate of Yale in 1731, settled at Connecticut Farms, N. J., in 1734. II. From *Scotland:* (1) *William Orr*, entered at University of Glasgow, third class, 1712, received by Presbytery as a student in 1730; (2) *John Cross*, received as a minister into the Synod in 1732. [He is represented by Webster (in *l. c.*, p. 413) as Scotch. But we have been unable to find him in the Registers of the Universities.] III. From *Ireland:* (1) *Robert Cathcart*, received as a probationer from Ireland in 1730; (2) *William Bertram*, received as a minister from the Presbytery of Bangor, Ireland, in 1732; (3) *James Martin*, entered at University of Glasgow, 1728, ordained by the Presbytery of Templepatrick for America in 1733, received into the Synod in 1734; (4) *Robert Jamison*, ordained for America by the Presbytery of Templepatrick in 1733, and re-

Whether this absence of the liberal subscriptionists was designed at this time (as was the case at the time of the rupture*) or not, we cannot tell; but, at all events, they paid no attention to the spirit of partisanship here manifested, and waited developments.

This action of the Synod was doubtless occasioned by the Hemphill case; notwithstanding that the developments in it showed that strict subscription was ineffectual as a bar to the entrance of such heretics into the Synod. There had also been a rapid increase of the stricter Scotch-Irishmen by large emigration. The Synod was becoming more divided in sentiment.

V.—THE RISE OF METHODISM.

While the strict subscriptionists were earnestly striving to keep out the errors of Deism, Socinianism, and Semi-Arianism from the Presbyterian Church of America, by ecclesiastical fences; a new religious force burst forth simultaneously in different parts of Great Britain and her colonies. A dead orthodoxy and an inefficient ecclesiasticism had taken the place of the Puritan vital piety. The religious conflicts had degenerated into ecclesiastical debates and intellectual battles at the expense of evangelical faith and growth in grace. Puritanism strove to overcome this narrowness and deadness, and it revived in the form of Methodism. There was a simultaneous movement throughout the British empire —a wide-spread revival which gradually gathered about

ceived by the Synod in 1734; (5) *Hugh Carlile*, minister of the Presbytery of Monaghan (they report to the Synod of Ulster in 1735 that he had gone to America), received by the Synod in 1735; (6) *John Paul*, graduate of the University of Edinburgh, 1728 (Presbytery of Route report to the Synod of Ulster that they had licensed him in 1732), received by the Synod in 1735; (7) *Patrick Glascow*, received and ordained in 1736. IV. *Trained by William Tennent:* his sons (1) *John* (ordained 1730) and (2) *William* (ordained 1733), and (3) *Samuel Blair*, ordained 1734.

* See p. 263.

the two religious chiefs of Methodism, Wesley and Whitefield.

Methodism is a revival of Puritanism; it is a genuine development of British Christianity; and yet it was influenced very largely by the Pietism of the Continent of Europe. But Pietism owed its origin to the impulses of Puritanism in the 17th century. Puritanism gave to the Reformed churches of Holland and Germany the Covenant theology, which became native to the soil in Cocceius and Witsius, and that form of vital, experimental, and practical religion which became so potent an influence in the Pietism of Spener, Koelmann, and Zinzendorf. It was an appropriate international and historical recompense, that the Continent should receive British Puritanism and transform it into Pietism; and that subsequently Great Britain and her colonies should receive the Pietism of the Continent and transform it into Methodism.

The Holy club was organized at Oxford in 1729, but it was not until 1738 that the Wesleys were guided by the Moravians into the light, and to the adoption of those principles, doctrines, and methods which have been the characteristic features of Methodism.

Methodism in America began in the Dutch Reformed Church, under the influence of Jacob Frelinghuysen. This devout man was born in Lingen, in East Friesland, about the year 1691, son of the pastor, J. H. Frelinghuysen. He was educated under Otto Verbrugge, afterwards Professor at Groningen, and was influenced by Jacob Koelmann, a well-known Pietist. He arrived in New York from Holland toward the close of 1719, or the beginning of 1720, and settled at Raritan, Somerset Co., N. J. He preached his first sermon there Jan. 31, 1720. His field of labor extended widely in the neighboring parts. He ministered for 27 years in this region

and was blessed with repeated revivals.* He insisted upon the necessity of regeneration, and the practice of piety, in order to participation in the Lord's supper. He earnestly strove for the conversion and sanctification of men. He came into conflict with Dominie Boel, of New York, and a considerable number of his own congregation whom he calls "*Formalists*." But the great majority of his people adhered to him, and he gained many supporters in the ranks of the ministry. Through Frelinghuysen the Puritan spirit flowed with new vigor to become a fountain of revival for America.†

Gilbert Tennent was ordained by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in the autumn of 1726. He went to New Brunswick and organized an English Presbyterian church in the field of Frelinghuysen, who wrote him an encouraging letter, exhorting him to faithfulness in preaching, to earnestness in the pursuit of vital religion, and to the development of the experience of grace in his flock. With Frelinghuysen and Tennent the revival influences began in the Middle colonies.

In 1734, Gilbert Tennent presented a memorial to the Synod of Philadelphia, upon which the following action was taken:

"Mr. Gilbert Tennent having brought some overtures into the Synod with respect to the trials of candidates, both for the ministry and the Lord's supper, that there be due care taken in examining into the evidences of the grace of God in them, as

* Messler, *Forty Years at Raritan*, N. Y., 1873, pp. 165 *seq.*

† Whitefield recognizes Frelinghuysen as the originator of the revival. "Among others that came to hear the Word, were several ministers whom the Lord has been pleased to honour, in making instruments of bringing many sons to glory. One was a Dutch Calvinistical minister, named Freeling Housen, Pastor of a congregation about Four miles off New Brunswick; he is a worthy old soldier of Jesus Christ, and was the Beginner of the great Work, which I trust the Lord is carrying on in these parts." (*Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal, from his embarking after the Embargo to his Arrival at Savannah in Georgia.* 2d edition, London, 1740, p. 41.)

well as of their other necessary qualifications, the Synod doth unanimously agree, that as it has been our principle and practice, and as it is recommended in the Directory for worship and government, to be careful in this matter, so it awfully concerns us to be most serious and solemn in the trials of both sorts of candidates above mentioned. And this Synod does therefore in the name and fear of God, exhort and obtest all our Presbyteries to take special care not to admit into the sacred office, loose, careless, and irreligious persons, but that they particularly inquire into the conversations, conduct, and behaviour of such as offer themselves to the ministry, and that they diligently examine all the candidates for the ministry in their experiences of a work of sanctifying grace in their hearts, and that they admit none to the sacred trust that are not in the eye of charity serious Christians. And the Synod does also seriously and solemnly admonish all the ministers within our bounds to make it their awful, constant, and diligent care, to approve themselves to God, to their own consciences, and to their hearers, serious, faithful stewards of the mysteries of God, and of holy and exemplary conversations. And the Synod does also exhort all the ministers within our bounds to use due care in examining those they admit to the Lord's supper." (*Records*, pp. 110, 111.)

The essential principles of Methodism are set forth in this memorial, and are justly recognized by the action of the Synod as in accordance with the Westminster standards. The resolutions were adopted by the Synod as a whole, but they were interpreted in different senses, and they continued, from this time forth, to divide it. John Craig gives us a view of the situation from the "Old Side," in speaking of his first introduction to the Synod in 1734:

"It gave me both grief and joy to see that Synod; grief, to see the small number and mean appearance; joy to see their mutual love and good order, and men of solid sense among them, and steady to the Presbyterian principles, and against all innovations, which began to appear at this Synod, from an overture read publicly by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, concerning the receiving of candidates into the ministry, and communicants to the Lords

table—which he imbibed from one Mr. Freylingheysen a low Dutch minister, which notions were then openly rejected, but afterwards prevailed so far as to divide the Synod, and put the church of God here into the utmost confusion." (W. H. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 2d Series, Philadelphia, 1855, p. 30.)

William Tennent, the father of Gilbert, had removed from Bedford, N. Y., to Neshaminy in 1727,* and founded the "Log College," in order to train young men for the ministry. The young men that went forth from this institution were in hearty sympathy with the principles of Methodism. About the Tennents (father and sons) a strong body of earnest, devout, and zealous ministers and laymen gathered. They complained of the dead orthodoxy of the churches, of the lack of genuine piety in the ministry, and of the great need of converted ministers. They became critical and censorious of those who could not follow them. They excited opposition and complaint. Robert Cross, of Philadelphia, and John Thomson became chiefs of an opposition which stoutly opposed the "new measures" and the "new lights."

Methodism consolidated itself in the Presbytery of East Jersey, which was organized in 1733 out of a portion of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1738, the Presbytery of East Jersey was combined with the Presbytery of Long Island as the Presbytery of New York; and then the Presbytery of New Brunswick was constructed of ministers from the Presbyteries of New York and Philadelphia living in New Jersey west of the Raritan River, and the new Presbytery of New Brunswick became the centre of the Methodist revival.

VI.—THE STRUGGLE FOR A GODLY MINISTRY.

The opposition to the Tennents took shape in the

* See p. 187, and also C. W. Baird, *Hist. of Bedford Church*, 1882, p. 48.

Synod of 1738, in a proposal from the Presbytery of Lewes, which was adopted by a large majority:

"That every student who has not studied with approbation, passing the usual course in some of the New England, or European colleges, approved by public authority, shall, before he be encouraged by any Presbytery for the sacred work of the ministry, apply himself to this Synod, and that they appoint a Committee of their members yearly, whom they know to be well skilled in the several branches of philosophy, and divinity, and the languages, to examine such students in this place, and finding them well accomplished in those several parts of learning, shall allow them a public testimonial from the Synod, which, till better provision be made, will in some measure answer the design of taking a degree in the college." (*Records*, p. 141.)

Another blow against the Methodists was given in the act that,

"No minister belonging to this Synod shall have liberty to preach in any congregation belonging to another Presbytery whereof he is not a member, after he is advised by any minister of such Presbytery, that he thinks his preaching in that congregation will have a tendency to procure divisions and disorders, until he first obtain liberty from the Presbytery or Synod so to do." (*Records*, p. 138.)

The Presbytery of New Brunswick brought in a paper of objections against both of these acts, in 1739, and the Presbytery substituted the following act instead of the first:

"It being the first article in our excellent Directory for the examination of the candidates of the sacred ministry, that they be inquired of, what degrees they have taken in the university, &c.; and it being oftentimes impracticable for us in these remote parts of the earth, to obtain an answer to these questions, of those who propose themselves to examination, many of our candidates not having enjoyed the advantage of a university education, and it being our desire to come to the nearest conformity to the incomparable prescriptions of the Directory, that our cir-

cumstances will admit of, and after long deliberation of the most proper expedients to comply with the intentions of the Directory, where we cannot exactly fulfil the letter of it; the Synod agree and determine, that every person who proposes himself to trial as a candidate for the ministry, and who has not a diploma, or the usual certificates from an European or New England university, shall be examined by the whole Synod, or its commission, as to these preparatory studies, which we generally pass through at the college, and if they find him qualified, they shall give him a certificate, which shall be received by our respective Presbyteries as equivalent to a diploma or certificate from the college. This we trust will have a happy tendency to prevent unqualified men from creeping in among us, and answer, in the best manner our present circumstances are capable of, the design which our Directory has in view, and to which by inclination and duty, we are all bound to comply to our utmost ability." (*Records*, p. 146.)

Mr. Gilbert Tennent protested against this Act in behalf of himself, William Tennent, Senior; William Tennent, Junior; Samuel Blair, Eleazer Wales, Charles Tennent, ministers; and Thomas Worthington, David Chambers, William McCrea, and John Weir, elders. The other Act was also revised, and the Synod determined:

"that if any minister in the bounds of any of our Presbyteries, judge that the preaching of any minister or candidate of a neighbouring Presbytery in any congregation, has had a tendency to promote division among them, or hinder the orderly settlement of a gospel ministry, in that case he shall complain to the Presbytery in whose bounds the said congregation is, and that the minister who is supposed to be the cause of the foresaid division, shall be obliged to appear before them, and it shall be left to them to determine whether he shall preach any more in the bounds of that congregation, and he shall be bound to stand to their determination, until they shall see cause to remove their prohibition, or the Synod shall have opportunity to take the affair under cognizance." (*Records*, p. 147.)

This Act was approved *nemine contradicente*, and this phase of the contest was satisfactorily adjusted; but the

assertion of the Synod's right to examine candidates, their interference with the rights of the Presbyteries in this respect, and the erection, as it were, of a Synodical College, ignoring the Log College, were more serious matters. The Presbytery of New Brunswick disregarded the Act of the Synod, and licensed John Rowland in defiance of its rules. The Synod declared this proceeding disorderly, admonished the Presbytery, and declined to recognize Mr. Rowland as a licentiate. The Synod at the same time unanimously appointed its commission, with correspondents from every Presbytery, to meet at Philadelphia, in the following August, and "prosecute the design of erecting a school or seminary of learning." Messrs. Pemberton, Dickinson, Cross, and Anderson were nominated as representatives, two of which should go to Europe to solicit aid from Great Britain. This design was not carried out on account of the outbreak of the war betwen England and Spain. This mode of adjustment failed.*

The controversy over the examination of candidates was a practical matter which could not be delayed. It really involved a deeper struggle as to the authority of the Synod, and also different interpretations of the Adopting Act. The Tennents claimed in their Apology in 1739:

"We humbly conceive that the aforesaid acts in their present form are founded upon a false hypothesis or supposition, namely, that a majority of Synods or other Church judicatories have a power committed to them from Christ, to make new rules, acts, or canons about religious matters, on this ground or foundation, that they judge them to be not against or agreeable to the Word of God, and serviceable to religion, which shall be binding upon those who conscientiously dissent therefrom, under certain penalties which are to be inflicted even upon those who judge the Acts which they enforce to be contrary to the mind of

* *Records*, p. 151.

Christ, and prejudicial to the interest of His kingdom. This is in brief a legislative or law-making power in religious matters, and this we wholly disclaim and renounce, for the reasons we shall anon mention, and are pleased that we have the Synod's concurrence therein in a printed declaration which was sent to Ireland some years ago; that declaration which we apprehend worthy of a Protestant body, we propose to maintain inviolably in our practice as well as profession."

George Gillespie, whom Whitefield describes as "another faithful minister of Jesus Christ,"* strove to mediate.†

He charges the New Brunswick Presbytery with cutting, carving, and dispensing at its own pleasure with the various parts of the trial presented in the Westminster Directory for the examination of candidates; and that they objected to the Synod's plan for a public synodical college, because it would interfere with the private interests of Mr. Tennent and his college. There is doubtless truth in both of these charges. But the real point in dispute was the authority of the Synod in requiring the candidates of the Presbytery to present diplomas from either Great Britain or New England, or from a committee of Synod, before their licensure by Presbytery. This was an insult to the Log College, a blow at its very life, and a usurpation by the Synod of the rights of the Presbyteries. It was time enough to destroy the Log College when the Synod had something better to put in its place. The Tennents were quite willing at a subsequent time to merge the Log College in the College of New Jersey. Mr. Tennent agreed to accept the censure of Synod, if the Presbytery

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* *Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal from his embarking after the embargo, &c.*, 2d edition, p. 56, London, 1740.

† See his *Sermon against Divisions in Christ's Churches*, Philadelphia, 1740. Appendix, p. vii.

should violate the rule; but he declined to present the young men for re-examination, and he was right.

The Presbytery of New Brunswick erred, however, in too loose an interpretation of the Adopting Act. It certainly did not mean that the Synod could take no action that might be against the consciences of a majority of the lower court, but it meant that the Synod could not impose such acts against conscientious scruples. Indeed the Synod unanimously agreed, Sept. 31, 1740, "that the Synod are the proper judges of the qualifications of their own members"; and again, "that they do not thereby call in question the power of subordinate Presbyteries to ordain ministers, but only assert their own right to judge of the qualifications of their own members." But the Presbytery of New Brunswick could not be allowed to violate the Westminster Directory in a persistent course of action.

"Then a Presbytery may impose upon its Synod, and by bringing in members into the ministry who have not the qualification required in the Standard aforesaid, and these members multiplying in a short time, may cast the Standards out of doors." (Gillespie, in *l. c.*, p. vii.)

In 1740, proposals for accommodation were made, but in vain; the majority decided that the Act should stand for the present. Gilbert Tennent and his associates renewed their protest, and they were joined by John Cross, of the Presbytery of New Brunswick; Geo. Gillespie and Alexander Hutcheson, of the Presbytery of New Castle; Richard Treat, of the Presbytery of Philadelphia; and Alexander Craighead, of the Presbytery of Donegal; making eleven ministers in all, besides a number of ruling elders, constituting a body formidable in numbers and influence. There was a difference of opinion on this subject of the training of ministers, in

all American denominations of Christians. As Dr. Charles Hodge appropriately says: *

"Whatever unworthy motive may, on either side, have mingled with better feelings, there is no doubt that the majority were influenced in the adoption of the rule in question, by a sincere desire to secure an adequately educated ministry, and the minority by an equally conscientious belief, that the operation of the rule would be inimical to the progress of religion in the church."

The Dutch Reformed and German Reformed Churches had the same difficulties to contend with; and they divided in similar ways upon the same subject. Frelinghuysen, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and Dorstius, of the German Reformed Church, were obliged to enter upon the work of training candidates for the ministry in order to supply the destitute churches. The New England colleges were unable to supply the demands of the Middle colonies for ministers. It was impossible to secure a sufficient number of efficient and pious ministers from the mother countries who were willing to engage in missions in America.† Not a few godly ministers were secured. But not a few unworthy men came of their own accord, and intruded themselves upon churches that were eager for ministers of the gospel, and by their incompetence or immorality hindered the progress of the gospel.‡

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* *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Part II., Philadelphia, 1851, p. 109.

† The author has examined carefully the Records of the Churches and the Missionary Societies of Great Britain, and has been deeply impressed with the earnest and persistent efforts which were made by the churches of Great Britain to procure missionaries for America. It was impossible to secure them in sufficient numbers. The mother churches are worthy of all praise. They acted in a noble and generous manner. (See pp. 163, 167, 170, 172, 193, 223.)

‡ See letter of Gillespie, in the Appendix XXII.

The circumstances of the American Churches seemed to the more active spirits to require that candidates should be trained by the American Churches themselves in as thorough a manner as possible. They rightly felt that it would be a serious restraint to the progress of the gospel in America, if godly young men should be discouraged from prosecuting their studies for the ministry or required to go to Great Britain or New England for their education.

The Dutch Reformed Church was torn asunder in 1754 by the same question of ministerial education, mingled with other questions like to those which agitated the Synod of Philadelphia.* The Tennent party were the real American party. They were not willing to adhere to the letter, that killeth, when the entire energies of the church were required to meet the wants of the multitudes hungering for the gospel. The Westminster Directory was made for the church, and not the church for the Directory. The circumstances of the country required that some modifications should be made.

The disagreement on this subject stirred up conflicts with regard to ministers' preaching out of their bounds. The Tennent party cannot be excused for their irregularities in this matter. Their attitude to their brother ministers in the Synod, in openly charging them with lack of piety and consecration, is indefensible. Their habit of intrusion into the flocks of other ministers was to the last degree offensive and intolerable. It is not surprising that Gilbert Tennent's sermon "on the danger of an unconverted ministry," which was preached at Nottingham, Pa., in 1740, should have aroused the hostility of his opponents to the highest degree.

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* E. T. Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, 3d edition, N. Y., 1879, pp. 32 *seq.*

In our judgment, they were unwise in allowing themselves to become so excited about it. They were open to the criticism which Tennent makes in his defence :*

"I humbly conceive our Author is mistaken when he says, that *the* Notingham *Sermon causes Contentions:* No, the true cause is graceless ministers opposing it. Me thinks it would be more to their credit prudently to let it alone upon their own Account, for when they keep muttering, growling and scolding at it, it does but give people ground to suspect they are of that unhappy tribe and party themselves, which is therein detected and censured."

The disorder created by the Tennents was owing chiefly to their habit of accusing members of their own Synod of being graceless, without bringing the evidence before the body, in the form of valid charges, as they were repeatedly urged by the Synod to do. There is a plausible excuse for this in the fact that the differences were so radical that a judicial trial of them would have been impossible. Subsequent events showed that there were two radical and disorderly parties in the Synod, and that the Presbytery of New York and such godly ministers as the Scotchmen, Gillespie and Hutcheson, were powerless to keep the peace.

VII.—THE GREAT AWAKENING.

In the meanwhile Methodism had greatly advanced in power and influence in America. Jonathan Edwards had independently adopted its principles and methods, and was blessed with a powerful revival at Northampton in 1734 and 1735 :

"Whenever he met the people in the sanctuary, he not only saw the house crowded, but every hearer earnest to receive the

* *The Examiner Examined, or Gilbert Tennent Harmonious. In Answer to a pamphlet entitled, the Examiner or Gilbert against Gilbert*, Philadelphia, 1743, p. 146.

truth of God, and often the whole assembly dissolved in tears: some weeping for sorrow, others for joy, and others from compassion. In the months of March and April, when the work of God was carried on with the greatest power, he supposes the number, apparently of genuine conversions, to have been at least four a day, or nearly thirty a week, take one week with another, for five or six weeks together." (*Life of Edwards*, p. 123 in *Works of President Edwards*, N. Y., 1829, Vol. I., also J. Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, Boston, 1842, pp. 112 *seq.*)

Joseph Bellamy, Eleazar Wheelock, Benjamin Colman, Thomas Prince, and others became attached to the movement in New England.* There was an informal holy club at Yale College in 1733. Many of the subsequent leaders of Methodism in America were there about that time; such as Joseph Bellamy, Aaron Burr, Benjamin Pomeroy, James Davenport, and Jonathan Barber. Eleazar Wheelock was accused of enthusiasm and religious disorders while in college. But he says:

"I never held, nor pretended to experience that kind of teaching which Calvinistic divines call Enthusiasm. The grand points which I was opposed in, were the absolute necessity of divine teaching in order to a right and effectual understanding of divine things—and the absolute necessity of divine influence and the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ in order to a right and acceptable performance of duty to God; that the graces of the Spirit may be so sensible and evident, as to be matter of assurance to the subjects of them, that they are passed from death unto life. These were the principles chiefly disputed, and to prove that I did not differ from approved divines I used frequently to quote and appeal to Mr. Flavel, part of whose works I had with me. And when the report was spread that I was enthusiastical I made a challenge upon all who had been my opponents to mention one point wherein I had differed in principle from Mr. Stoddard or Mr. Flavel; and it was frankly allowed by my most

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*E. H. Gillett, *President Wheelock and the Great Revival; President Wheelock and His Cotemporaries*, *Amer. Pres. Review*, 1869, pp. 281 *seq.*, and pp. 520 *seq.*

zealous opponents, that I was not a greater enthusiast than Mr. Flavel was, and that I had not vented any principles which he did not justify." (E. H. Gillett, *President Wheelock and Dr. Chauncy, Amer. Pres. Review*, 1871, p. 12.)

Whitefield came over to head the movement in 1739, and preached with wonderful power and success throughout the colonies. All the American Methodists rallied about him, and the churches were revived and enlarged. But unfortunately the revival occasioned strife and separation in most of the American denominations of Christians. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland the Presbyterian forces were divided into two hostile camps. But in New Jersey and New York, embraced in the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and New York, the ministers and churches were unanimous in support of Methodism. Indeed, the Presbytery of New York were so busy with their revived congregations that they neglected the Synod, and kept apart from its strifes. It will be instructive to tarry by some of these churches in order that we may apprehend the strength and blessedness of this movement. We are informed in a letter from the Presbyterian congregation of New York City to the Boston ministers and churches in 1746:*

"That the congregation for some years after Mr. Pemberton's settlement continued poor and small, ordinarily consisting of not more than 70 or 80 persons old and young. Large arrears of salary, annually increasing, unpaid, and the Building unfinished, and our minister greatly discouraged. Till at length, six of our eight windows, (which had continued covered with Boards about twenty years) were glazed. And about the year 1739 the showers of Heaven began to descend upon the congregation, a large increase of gifts were bestowed on the minister, and the divine presence manifestly appeared among the people, so that upon our doors it might be truly inscribed *Jehovah Shammah*, the Lord is there. The numbers of the congregation greatly in-

* See the *MS. Records* of the Trustees of the Congregation, p. 26.

creased and the floor of the building became quite full, which some of us had for a long time scarce hoped to live to see. About four years ago the call for galleries was very loud and pressing. The building of three galleries was undertaken at once, and they seemed to be full as soon as finished and the floor below as full as before. The cry is now as great for room as ever. The voice of Providence seems to be, lengthen your cords, strengthen your stakes, open your mouth wide and I will fill it."

Whitefield preached for Pemberton in November, 1739. Pemberton wrote to him soon after:

"I was heartily sorry that the Disorder of a Cold should hinder me from waiting upon you in the Jerseys: But am in hopes it was ordered by Divine Providence for the best. I found the next day, that you had left the town under a deep and universal concern: Many were greatly affected, and I hope abiding impressions are left upon some.—Some that were before very loose and profligate, look back with shame upon their past lives and conversations, and seem resolved upon a thorough reformation. I mention these things to strengthen you in the blessed cause you are engaged in, and support you under your abundant labours.—When I heard so many were concerned for their eternal welfare, I appointed a lecture on Wednesday evening, tho' it was not an usual season. And tho' the warning was short we had a numerous and attentive audience.—In short, I cannot but hope your coming among us has been the means of awakening some among us to a serious sense of practical religion, and may be the beginning of a good work in this secure and sinful place." (*Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal from his embarking after the Embargo to his Arrival at Savannah*, 2d edition, p. 51, London, 1740.)

Whitefield preached again in New York in the spring and in the autumn of 1740 with wondrous power. He tells us that on November 2d,

"As I went to meeting, I grew weaker and weaker, and when I came into the pulpit, I could have chose to be silent rather than speak. But, after I had begun, the Spirit of the Lord gave me freedom, till at length it came down like a mighty rushing

wind, and carried all before it. Immediately the whole congregation was alarmed. Shrieking, crying, weeping and wailing were to be heard in every corner. Men's hearts failing them for fear, and many falling into the arms of their friends. My soul was carried out till I could scarce speak any more. A sense of God's goodness overwhelmed me." *

Similar revival influences were felt in the churches on Long Island, and in Eastern and Western New Jersey, in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and indeed wherever Mr. Whitefield and the Methodists, who associated with him, went. The Presbyterian ministers of the Presbyteries of New York and New Brunswick were unanimous in their co-operation with him; but the Presbyteries of Donegal, New Castle, Lewes, and Philadelphia were divided. The most influential ministers, under the lead of Robert Cross, of Philadelphia, Francis Alison, of New Castle, and John Thomson, of Lewes, were opposed to the Methodist movement.

It is probable that these Scotch-Irish ministers were influenced by the conflicts in Scotland which brought about the *Secession*. These conflicts originated from various causes, among which we may mention the Abjuration oath, the Simson case, abuse of patronage, but especially the *Marrow* controversy. *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, a Puritan treatise by Edward Fisher (originally published in 1644 as a middle way between Legalism and Antinomianism), was republished, with a preface by James Hogg, in 1718. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1720, condemned certain errors in it. Against this action, Thomas Boston, Ebenezer Erskine, Ralph Erskine, and nine others, re-

* *Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal*, the 7th Journal, London, 1741, p. 57. Dr. Charles Hodge is certainly mistaken in representing that "no very remarkable results" attended his ministry in New York. (*Constitutional History*, II., p. 35).

monstrated in 1721. After several years of heated controversy on the several points of faith and practice, Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, Alexander Moncrief, and James Fisher were suspended from the office of the ministry and loosed from their pastoral charges, in the autumn of 1732. These four ministers protested and declared a Secession, "not from the constitution of the Church of Scotland, but from the *prevailing party in her judicatories.*" *

They constituted themselves *The Associate Presbytery* Dec. 6, 1733; in Febr., 1734, issued a *Testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland*, and began a work of great spiritual power, accompanied with frequent revivals. They co-operated with Whitefield at first, but subsequently finding that they could not agree with him in his views of church government, discipline, Christian union, and toleration, they became hostile. Accordingly, British Methodism separated itself into three organizations—Wesleyan Methodists, Whitefield Methodists, and the Secession Church of Scotland.

Moreover, Methodism worked powerfully in the Established Church of Scotland. John Willison, John Gillies, John Row, and others, in 1744, issued a *Fair and Impartial Testimony*,† defending the National Church against the charges of the Secession Presbytery, and advocating Whitefield and his work against them. It speaks approvingly of the remarkable instances of the effusions of

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* John Brown, *Hist. Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession*, 4th edition, Glasgow, 1780, p. 23.

† This important tract was published, Edinburgh, 1744, under the Full Title: *A Fair and impartial Testimony essayed in name of a number of ministers, elders, and Christian people of the Church of Scotland, unto the laudable principles, wrestlings, and Attainments of that Church; and against the Backslidings, Corruptions, Divisions, and prevailing evils, both of the former and present times, &c.* Attested and Adhered unto by sundry ministers.

God's Spirit abroad and at home; of the revivals at Northampton, in New England, in the Jerseys, and in Pennsylvania, and of Mr. Whitefield's work in Scotland. It also dwells upon the revival at Cambuslang in 1742, and in the neighboring parishes of "Kilsyth, Calder, Kirkintolloch, Campsie, Cumbernauld, Gargunnock, Baldernock, Muthill, and many other parishes, and even in Edinburgh and Glasgow." It bears testimony to it "as a glorious work of the Spirit of God, which He hath been pleased to send in his sovereign free mercy, in a time of great infidelity, formality and backsliding, to glorify his own name, by awakening, convincing, humbling, converting, comforting, reviving, strengthening and confirming many souls thro' the Land."*

The Tennents and their friends naturally, as Presbyterians, sympathized with the Erskines and the Secession movement in Scotland.†

A great controversy arose in America,‡ and soon ex-

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* In *l. c.*, p. 103.

† This was recognized by Mr. Whitefield so soon as he met Mr. Tennent. In his Journal (*Continuation from his Embarking after the Embargo*, 2d edition, London, 1740, p. 31) he describes "Mr. Tennent, an old grey-headed disciple and soldier of Jesus Christ. He keeps an Academy about 20 miles off Philadelphia, has been blessed with four gracious sons, three of whom have been and still continue to be eminently useful in the church of Christ. He brought three pious souls along with him, and rejoiced me by letting me know how they had been evil spoken of for their master's sake. He is a great friend to Mr. *Erskine* of *Scotland*, and, as far as I can find, both he and his sons are secretly despised by the generality of the Synod, as Mr. *Erskine* and his brethren are hated by the Judicatories of *Edinburgh*, and as the *Methodist* preachers are by their brethren in *England*."

‡ See *The Querists, or An Extract of sundry passages taken out of Mr. Whitefield's printed Sermons*, Philadelphia, 1740, by Thomas Evans, of New Castle. This was answered by *Samuel Blair* in *A Particular consideration of a Piece, entitled The Querists*, Philadelphia, 1741. This was followed by *A Short Reply to Mr. Whitefield's letter which he wrote in answer to the Querists*, Philadelphia, 1741; *The Examiner*, by Philalethes, Boston, 1743, replied to by Gilbert Tennent in *The Examiner Examined*, Philadelphia, 1743.

tended throughout the colonies.* In New England the struggle was fierce and long. The Boston ministers, headed by Colman, generally favored the revival; but the Connecticut ministers were more divided. Yale College led the opposition, offended by some severe criticisms upon it on the part of Whitefield.†

Even the little band of Presbyterians in New England was divided. John Caldwell preached a sermon at New Londonderry, October 14, 1741, against the Methodists, which was immediately answered by David McGregorie in a sermon on the same text.‡ These represented the two parties into which the Presbytery had been divided in 1736.§

* In South Carolina Josiah Smith defended Whitefield against his opponents in *The character, preaching &c. of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, impartially represented and supported, in a Sermon preached in Charlestown, South Carolina, Mch. 26, 1740*, with a Preface by the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper of Boston, N. E., Boston, 1740. (See pp. 225 *seq.*)

† The following pamphlet was issued: *The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College in New Haven against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, his principles and designs. In a letter to him.* Boston, 1745. The following extract will show the points at issue: "And if all unconverted ministers must be discarded and separated from, a new sett or supply must necessarily be introduced; these must be such as you judge to be converted, or otherwise there will be the same necessity, that you should be strengthened to lift up your voice against unconverted ministers, as there was before. Our colleges can do but a very *little* towards such an extraordinary supply; especially, since as you say, the light in them is but darkness, even thick darkness that may be felt. This supply must therefore be either of exhorters or foreigners: you publickly told the people of New England, that they might expect, in a little time some supply from your orphan house; and you told the Rev. Mr. Edwards of North-Hampton, that you intended to bring over a number of young men from England to be ordained by the Tennents. Whether any more were to come from Scotland or Ireland, we think is not material. And it has been the constant practice of the Tennents, and their Presbytery, of late years, to send ministers to supply the separation in N. England particularly Mess. Finly, Sacket, Blair, Treat and sundry others, to preach to the separation at Milford, New Haven, &c. and some of them shewed written orders for it, from the Presbytery." (p. 10.)

‡ This latter was published as a defence, Boston, 1742, and subsequently republished in Scotland.

§ See p. 229.

There can be no doubt that there were serious disorders connected with the revival movement, especially in connection with James Davenport, of Southold, and several other excitable persons, which wrought mischief and separation, especially in Connecticut. We do not find this separation to any extent in New York, Eastern New Jersey, or Massachusetts, where the revival was conducted by discreet men like Dickinson, Pemberton, Colman, Prince, and others; but chiefly in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, where the revival was opposed by ministers who failed to apprehend the work of God, and who did not discern the gracious effects of the Divine Spirit in the midst of the enthusiasm. John Willison, Gillies, and the Methodists of the Established Church of Scotland correctly apprehended this from a careful inspection of the revivals in Scotland and elsewhere. With regard to the American revival they wisely say:

"It is to be regretted, that the work began to be much clouded by some zealous but imprudent ministers, and a sett of illiterate exhorters, who went through the country preaching and venting errors, and sometimes very rash censures against their brethren, and some of them pretending to visions, prophecy, and great attainments, and running into several extravagances, upon which account some have endeavoured to expose the whole work as *Enthusiasm* and *Delusion*. But it being *Satan's* ordinary way, when he sees Christ's Kingdom advancing in a place, to exert himself to bring a reproach upon Religion, by leading some zealous Professors of it into errors and disorders; this can prove no more against the Work in general, than the Delusion of the *Anabaptists* and *Fifth monarchy men* did against the Reformation. But these clouds did not long continue." (*A Fair and Impartial Testimony, &c.*, Edinburgh, 1744, p. 101.)

At this time, James Davenport was not a member of the Synod of Philadelphia. He did not unite with the Synod of New York until after he had repented of his

follies and had become a different man. There is no evidence that the revival in the Presbyterian churches was accompanied with any such disorders and errors of doctrine. The "old side" show throughout that they were opposed to the revival itself, and the Methodist movement in general. There was the less excuse for their continued opposition in view of the fact that the leaders of American Methodism promptly opposed the enthusiasts who brought disgrace on the genuine work of Revival.

Jonathan Dickinson, Gilbert Tennent, and Jonathan Edwards wrote discriminating tracts upon the subject, which will remain for all time as the source of information with reference to the true spirit and character of American Methodism.*

Dr. Charles Hodge gives the following judgment upon the revival:

"Notwithstanding all the disorders and other evils attendant on this revival, there can be no doubt that it was a wonderful display, both of the power and grace of God. This might be confidently inferred from the judgment of those who as eyewitnesses of its progress, were the best qualified to form an opinion of its character. The deliberate judgment of such men as Edwards, Cooper, Colman, and Bellamy, in New England; and of the Tennents, Blair, Dickinson, and Davies, in the Presbyterian Church, must be received as of authority on such a subject.

**A Display of God's special Grace, in a familiar dialogue between a minister and a gentleman of his congregation about the work of God, in the correction and conversion of sinners, so remarkably of late begun and going on in these American parts, wherein the objections against some uncommon appearances amongst us are distinctly considered, mistakes rectifyed, and the work itself particularly proved to be from the Holy Spirit. With an Addition, in a second conference, relating to sundry Antinomian principles, beginning to obtain in some places.* [*Jonathan Dickinson*] Boston, 1742; *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England.* By Jonathan Edwards, 1740; *Some Account of the Principles of the Moravians*, etc. By Gilbert Tennent, 1742, London, 1743.

These men were not errorists or enthusiasts. They were devout and sober-minded men, well versed in the Scriptures and in the history of religion. They had their faults, and fell into mistakes; some of them very grievous; but if they are not to be regarded as competent witnesses as to the nature of any religious excitement, it will be hard to know where such witnesses are to be found." (Chas. Hodge, *Constitutional History*, II., p. 46.)

Benjamin Trumbull sums up the doctrines of the American Methodists in the following statement, also approved by Dr. Hodge:

"The doctrines preached by those famous men, who were owned as the principal instruments of this remarkable revival of God's work, were the doctrines of the reformers; the doctrine of original sin, of regeneration by the supernatural influence of the divine Spirit, and of the absolute necessity of it, that any man might bear good fruit, or ever be admitted into the kingdom of God; effectual calling; justification by faith wholly on account of the imputed righteousness of Christ; repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; the perseverance of saints; the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in them, and its divine consolations and joys." (Benj. Trumbull, *Complete History of Connecticut*. Hartford, 1797, II., p. 158. Charles Hodge, in *l. c.*, p. 47.)

American Methodism was a revival of British Puritanism and Protestantism. It was especially distinguished for the stress laid upon regeneration, the personal experience of grace, and a fruitful life. It bore within it the principle of evangelization, and made that principle more efficient than ever before for the conversion of men. It aroused British Protestantism to a wondrous Christian activity, which has been its chief characteristic ever since. American Methodism produced two great theologians, Jonathan Dickinson and Jonathan Edwards, who remain as the best exponents of the theology of the eighteenth century.

Jonathan Edwards is the greatest divine America has

yet produced; and he has found no equal in Great Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He was at once recognized as the teacher of the Calvinistic Methodists of Great Britain, and has become the master spirit in theology to the Presbyterian and Congregational world of the nineteenth century in Scotland, as well as in England and America. Jonathan Edwards is the father of modern British and American theology, not so much in those metaphysical questions to which his name is so frequently attached, as in those characteristic doctrines of the Methodist movement which he so successfully formulated and explained. He is the real theologian of Methodism, and no one has yet risen to take his place, because Great Britain is still in the course of religious development which was started by Methodism.

VIII.—THE RUPTURE OF THE SYNOD.

The Synod of Philadelphia was greatly divided on several important points of doctrine, discipline, and practice. It needed but a slight aggravating cause to bring about a rupture. This was afforded by the case of Alexander Craighead. The Presbytery of Donegal was the stronghold of the opponents of Methodism and the advocates of strict subscription. Seven of the nine ministers were on that side, over against Alexander Craighead and David Alexander on the other. But the two Methodists were determined men and would not yield to their opponents. They were indeed extreme in their views and measures, and were more in accord with the covenanting Presbytery of Scotland than with the English or American Methodists. Alexander Craighead was charged by Francis Alison with intrusion into his congregation, and also by several members of his own congregation:

"1. With absenting himself from Presbytery. 2. With imposing new terms of communion on his people at the baptism of their children. 3. With excluding a person from the communion, because he seemed to be opposed to his new methods. 4. With asserting that the ministers of Christ ought not to be confined to any particular charge. The new term of communion here complained of was, no doubt, the adoption of the solemn league and covenant, which it seems he and Mr. John Cross, of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, were often in the habit of imposing on their people." (C. Hodge, *Constitutional History*, II., p. 141.)

The Presbytery suspended Mr. Craighead, but he declined to recognize their authority on the ground that they were all his accusers, and could not be his judges. At the same time the Presbytery of Donegal declined to recognize David Alexander as a member of Presbytery until he gave them satisfaction for his disorderly conduct, and refusal to submit to their government.

At the meeting of the Synod in May, 1741, the case of Craighead was made a test case by both parties. Francis Alison renewed his complaint of intrusion before the Synod, and was supported by the Presbytery of Donegal and all the opponents of the Methodists. The Methodists also rallied to the defence of Craighead, and it became clear after three days' heated debate that there was no prospect of agreement; and the Synod adjourned Saturday, May 30th, in great disorder.* On Monday, June 1st, Robert Cross brought in a Protestation signed by twelve ministers.† They protested against eleven members.‡ The body seemed evenly divided, and both

* Charles Hodge, in *l. c.*, II., pp. 146 *seq.*

† The Protestation is given in the Appendix XXVII.

‡ The twelve signers of the Protestation were all Irishmen, with the possible exception of Samuel Thomson, whose origin is uncertain. They were: Robert Cross, of the Presbytery of Philadelphia; John Thomson, Adam Boyd, John Elder, Richard Zanchy, Samuel Cavin, Samuel Thomson, and John Craig, of the Presbytery of Donegal; James Martin and Robert Jamieson, of the Presby-

parties claimed the majority; but the majority, embracing Gillespie, Hutcheson, McHenry, Elmer, and Andrews, who were present; and twelve ministers of the Presbytery of New York, who were absent, and doubtless others, really occupied an intermediate position.

If these absentees had been present at this meeting of the Synod and had thrown their great influence into the scale of good order, the separation might have been prevented. Twelve ministers by a vigorous onset carried a Synod four times their number, owing to the absence of nearly half the body.

Jedediah Andrews was chosen Moderator, and thus there remained but two votes which had not apparently committed themselves to the one side or the other.* It seems that Mr. Elmer was absent at the crisis and McHenry and Gillespie did not vote. This gave the Protesters a slender majority of twelve to ten† in the ministerial vote. It is astonishing that a Synod of 47 ministers should have been broken up in this fashion, by a majority of two in a vote of 22. It shows how important it is that mediators should be at hand in the crisis and keep the peace by armed and vigorous neutrality.

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tery of Lewes; and Francis Alison and Robert Cathcart, of the Presbytery of New Castle. Those protested against were especially: William Tennent, Jr., and Richard Treat, of the Presbytery of Philadelphia; Alexander Craighead and David Alexander, of the Presbytery of Donegal; and the entire Presbytery of New Brunswick, William Tennent, Senior, Gilbert Tennent, and Eleazar Wales; and Charles Tennent and Samuel Blair, of the Presbytery of New Castle, or nine of those present at this meeting of the Synod. Besides these George Gillespie and Alexander Hucheson, of the Presbytery of New Castle, had signed the Protest with the Tennents in the previous year, and were also protested against, and it was expected that Francis McHenry, of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, would join them.

* Gillespie and Hucheson had signed the Protest of 1740, and certainly could not vote for this Protestation, which condemned them when it claimed "that all our protesting brethren have at present no right to sit and vote as members of this Synod."

† C. Hodge, in *l. c.*, II., p. 157.

There were two disorderly parties, both of them violating the rules of Presbyterial discipline and good order. The Protestation was an outrageous piece of assumption; twelve ministers protested that the ten signers of the protest of 1640 had no right to sit and vote as members of the Synod. They give their reasons in the form of a judgment, without any attempt at a process before an ecclesiastical court. These reasons cover the grounds of dispute as to subscription, Presbyterial discipline, and the principles and practices of Methodism. The strict subscriptionists and rigid disciplinarians of the Synod were at last forced to revolutionary practices which transcended any irregularities which had been committed by their opponents. Dr. Charles Hodge gives the following careful opinion of this transaction:

"It is plain from this statement that not even the forms of an ecclesiastical, much less of a judicial proceeding, were observed at this crisis. There was no motion, no vote, not even a presiding officer in the chair. It was a disorderly rupture. A number of the Synod rise and declare they will no longer sit with certain of their brethren unless they satisfy their complaints. The members complained of answer, You are dissatisfied and are the minority, therefore you must go out; and then a confused rush is made to the roll to see which was the stronger party. Such was the schism of 1741. . . . . It is presumed there can be but one opinion as to this whole proceeding. There were but two courses which those who felt aggrieved by the conduct of Mr. Tennent and his friends could properly take. The one was to appeal to reason and the word of God, and rely on those means to correct the evil of which they complained. It is true, this would at that time have been like talking to a whirlwind; still, when the storm was over, truth and reason would have resumed their sway. . . . . Their second course was regularly to table charges against the New Brunswick Presbytery. There was the less reason for departing from this course as there was every prospect of its being successful." (C. Hodge, *Constitutional History*, II., pp. 158–9.)

John Thomson, one of the chiefs of the "old side," wrote a book to advocate his high notions of ecclesiastical authority over against the two papers of the New Brunswick ministers, namely, the Apology of May, 1739, and the Protest of May, 1740.* This brings out clearly the differences between the parties with reference to ecclesiastical authority.

The New Brunswick brethren had appealed to the Adopting Act, but John Thomson appeals to the subsequent Act of Synod, which he claims changed its complexion:

"I suppose that what our brethren value the printed declaration, which they mention, most for, is the too great latitude expressed in it, which fault was amended in the following year, when that latitude was taken away as dangerous." (p. 68.)

Such views of the power of a minority Synod, to amend and remove the latitude of the Adopting Act, were far more dangerous to the constitution of the Church than any principles advanced by the Tennents. We do not wonder that they had said, in view of such opinions of Thomson:

"In short, if we may be suffered to speak plainly, a legislative authority makes the terms of communion as variable as any weather-cock, so that a man is in continual danger of being cast out of communion, where it is exercised in its rigor, unless he has a conscience as pliable as wax, ready to receive every impression, or can alter his sentiments, out of compliance to a majority, as fast as the cameleon its colors."

Thomson thinks that with reference to the persons who should scruple anything in the Standards—

"Surely in that case it is less danger and damage to Christ's Church to want the benefit of such a person's labors, than to

* *Government of the Church of Christ*, Philadelphia, 1741.

purchase it at the expense of a rule which, for its matter and substance, is really known to be contained in the Word, though such a person cannot see it."

Samuel Blair responds to Thomson as follows:

"That which the Apology opposes then, you see, is just this, *viz.* A Power or authority in church-judicatures, to make rules, acts, or canons, which they can only pretend, at most, are not contrary to, or forbidden in, any place of scripture; but are agreeable to its general directions, and good expedients for the securing, or promoting, some good purposes in the church; and to impose them as obligatory laws on such of their members, or communion, as judge them to be sinful, contrary to scripture, and prejudicial to the true interest of the church, so as that they cannot observe them with a safe conscience." (pp. 212–13.) "The point denied is this, *viz.:* That church-judicatures have a lawful power of oppressing the consciences of their members, by imposing anything upon them on pain of censure and non-communion, which they judge sinful, and cannot in conscience comply with; when the majority in the mean time, are not in conscience bound, by the authority of God declaring or ordaining that very thing in his Word. And, sure, this is very different from the foregoing general case. Such a power as this, is, I think properly a legislative power in religious matters: for the things enjoined are not pretended to be particularly enjoined by God in the Scripture; but only devised as good and useful expedients for the time, supposed to be agreeable, or not contrary to Scripture; certainly then, the imposing of such things as these in such a manner, as absolutely necessary to be obeyed by all our members, as an absolutely necessary term of their membership and communion with us, when their consciences will not suffer them to obey, and enjoy membership on such terms, is a making of laws in the church to a degree. To censure, punish, and cast out persons out of the communion and privileges of the church by any other laws than those of Jesus Christ, is not this to assume his proper prerogative and alone power of giving laws to his church? If this is not legislation, or law making, in the church of God, I do desire to be informed what it can be." (p. 213, *Vindication of the Brethren who were unjustly and illegally cast out of the Synod of Philadelphia by a number of the members, from maintaining principles of Anarchy in the church*

and denying the Scriptural authority of church-judicature; against the charges of the Rev. John Thompson, in his piece entitled, the Government of the Church of Christ, etc. By Samuel Blair, minister of the gospel at New Londonderry, in Pennsylvania. Samuel Blair's Works. Philadelphia, 1754.)

Thomson, Cross, Alison, and their friends were straining after an extreme type of Presbyterianism, beyond anything that had previously been known in America, and with stretches of absolutism which would have been strenuously opposed in the mother Presbyterian churches of Europe. It was the necessity of their position in hostility to Methodism, rather than their conformity to ideal Presbyterianism which urged them on to such tyranny and disorder.

The second item in their protest was:

"that no person, minister or elder, should be allowed to sit and vote in this Synod, who hath not received, adopted or subscribed, the said Confessions, Catechisms, and Directory, as our Presbyteries respectively do, according to our last explication of the adopting act."

Immediately after the excluded party had withdrawn, an overture was passed:

"That every member of this Synod, whether minister or elder, do sincerely and heartily receive, own, acknowledge, or subscribe, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as the confession of his faith, and the Directory, as far as circumstances will allow and admit in this infant church, for the rule of church order. Ordered, that every session do oblige their elders, at their admission, to do the same."

Thus a mere fragment of the Synod presumed to alter the fundamental law of the Church, make strict subscription obligatory upon all ministers and elders; and discard the breadth and liberty of the original Adopting Act.

At the next meeting of the Synod, May 26, 1742, the Presbytery of New York and the intermediate party

generally, appeared in full force. Jonathan Dickinson was chosen moderator, and earnest efforts were put forth for reconciliation; but in vain. It was too late. The Protesters had excluded the New Brunswick Presbytery and its friends; they felt strong enough now to resist the intermediate party; and they were determined to enforce their views upon the whole Church. They claimed

"That they with the members that adhered to them, after ejecting said members, were the Synod, and acted as such in the rejection, and in so doing they only cast out such members as they judged had rendered themselves unworthy of membership, by openly maintaining and practising things subversive of their constitution, and therefore would not be called to account by absent members, or by any judicature on earth, but were willing to give the reasons of their conduct to their absent brethren, and to the public to consider or review it." (*Records*, p. 162.)

The Presbytery of New York and their friends protested, but in vain.

In the meanwhile the Presbytery of New Brunswick met in Philadelphia, June 2, 1741, with corresponding members who had been excluded from the Synod with it, organized an additional Presbytery of Londonderry, and appointed a meeting of the Synod for August, 1742.*

At the meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia May 30, 1743, the Presbytery of New York presented an overture for the accommodation of the differences, but it was immediately rejected by the Synod. Jonathan Dickinson, Ebenezer Pemberton, John Pierson, and Aaron Burr thereupon presented a paper, in which they stated that they could not at present see their "way clear to sit and act as though we were the Synod of Philadelphia, while the New Brunswick Presbytery, and other members with them, are kept out of the Synod in the manner they now

* C. Hodge, in *l. c.*, II., p. 161.

are." The paper also contained a proposal of agreement and union between them and the New Brunswick brethren. An answer to the protest of the New York brethren was adopted, but kept *in retentis* until the meeting of Synod May 24, 1744, when it was spread upon the minutes. At the Synod of 1745, May 23d, "Messrs. Dickinson, Pierson and Pemberton, in the name of the New York Presbytery, and by commission from them," desired a Committee of Conference to remove differences. The Committee was appointed, and drew up a plan which was submitted, May 25th; but the Commissioners of New York Presbytery declined to accept it, and proposed to the Synod a mutual agreement to erect another Synod under the name of the Synod of New York, and "that there may be a foundation for the two Synods to consult and act in mutual concert with one another hereafter, and maintain love and brotherly kindness with each other." The Synod responded

"that though we judge they have no just ground to withdraw from us, yet seeing they propose to erect themselves into a Synod at New York, and now desire to do this in the most friendly manner possible, we declare, if they or any of them do so, we shall endeavour to maintain charitable and christian affections toward them, and show the same upon all occasions by such correspondence and fellowship as we shall think duty, and consistent with a good conscience."

Accordingly, September 19, 1745, the Presbytery of New York united with the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and New Londonderry; and the Synod of New York was erected at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, composed of three Presbyteries:

(1) *Presbytery of New York*—Jonathan Dickinson, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Simeon Horton, Aaron Burr, Azariah Horton, Timothy Jones, Eliab Byram, Robert Sturgeon; (2) *Presbytery of New Brunswick*—

Gilbert Tennent, Joseph Lamb, William Tennent, Richard Treat, James McCrea, William Robinson, David Youngs, Charles Beatty, Charles McKnight; (3) *Presbytery of New Castle*—Samuel Blair, Samuel Finly, Charles Tennent, John Blair—twenty-two ministers in all.

They agreed upon the following articles "as the plan and foundation of their synodical union":

"1. They agree that the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, be the public confession of their faith in such manner as was agreed unto by the Synod of Philadelphia, in the year 1729; and to be inserted in the latter end of this book. And they declare their approbation of the Directory of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as the general plan of worship and discipline.

"2. They agree that in matters of discipline, and those things that relate to the peace and good order of our churches, they shall be determined according to the major vote of ministers and elders, with which vote every member shall actively concur or pacifically acquiesce; but if any member cannot in conscience agree to the determination of the majority, but supposes himself obliged to act contrary thereunto, and the Synod think themselves obliged to insist upon it as essentially necessary to the well being of our churches, in that case such dissenting member promises peaceably to withdraw from the body, without endeavouring to raise any dispute or contention upon the debated point, or any unjust alienation of affection from them.

"3. If any member of their body supposes that he hath anything to object against any of his brethren with respect to error in doctrine, immorality in life, or negligence in his ministry, he shall not on any account, propagate the scandal, until the person objected against is dealt with according to the rules of the gospel and the known methods of their discipline.

"4. They agree, that all who have a competent degree of ministerial knowledge, are orthodox in their doctrine, regular in their lives, and diligent in their endeavours to promote the important designs of vital godliness, and that will submit to their discipline, shall be cheerfully admitted into their communion.

"And they do also agree, that in order to avoid all divisive meth-

ods among their ministers and congregations, and to strengthen the discipline of Christ in the churches in these parts, they will maintain a correspondence with the Synod of Philadelphia in this their first meeting, by appointing two of their members to meet with the said Synod of Philadelphia at their next convention, and to concert with them such measures as may best promote the precious interests of Christ's kingdom in these parts.

"And that they may in no respect encourage any factious separating practices or principles, they agree that they will not intermeddle with judicially hearing the complaints, or with supplying with ministers and candidates such parties of men, as shall separate from any Presbyterian or Congregational churches, that are not within their bounds, unless the matters of controversy be submitted to their jurisdiction or advice by both parties." (*Records*, pp. 233–234.)

Dr. E. H. Gillett properly states:

"In acceding to these terms, the New Brunswick party made a virtual confession of the errors they had committed, and the wrongs they had done. They cheerfully surrendered to the New York brethren what the authority of the Philadelphia Synod could not extort. In conjunction with their new allies they now extended the olive branch to their former antagonists. A great point had been gained—by whatever influences or motives—when they were willing to renounce their former violent and divisive courses, discountenance the use of invective and slander, and abide by the decision of a majority of the body to which they belonged. It is not difficult to recognize in the terms of the Synod's basis, the shaping influence of a master mind. The Synod met at Elizabethtown, and Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabethtown, was chosen moderator." (*American Presbyterian Review*, July, 1868, p. 417.)

The differences between the Synods are distinctly drawn. (1) The Synod of Philadelphia were opposed to the entire movement of Methodism, its principles and revival measures; the Synod of New York regarded them as a blessed work of God. (2) The Synod of Philadelphia insisted upon strict verbal subscription "*according to their last explication of the Adopting Act*" in 1736;

the Synod of New York agreed that the Westminster symbols "be the public confession of their faith in *such manner as was agreed unto by the Synod of Philadelphia in the year* 1729," and thus maintained liberal and substantial subscription. (3) The Synod of New York emphasized the right of peaceable withdrawal from the Synod of discontented parties; over against the claim that a majority had the right to exclude the minority.

On the one side were Puritan vital piety and Methodist aggressive evangelization; on the other, the formalism of conformity to rigid types of doctrine and of inefficiency in traditional methods of work. On the one side, liberal subscription and considerate discipline; on the other, strict subscription and tyrannical discipline.

It was an unfortunate time for Separation. The Presbyterian Church needed all its energies for evangelization on the frontiers, especially in Virginia and North Carolina; and for missions among the American Indians, now in their infancy in the Middle colonies. Appeals to New England and Great Britain for aid were rendered ineffectual by discord, and the uncertainty as to its results. It was a separation not merely into two parties, but it soon gave birth to a third party, and opened the doors for the establishment of other types of Scottish Christianity in America. It not only brought about disunion in British Presbyterianism, but it prevented union with the Dutch Reformed and German Reformed Churches, which was at this very time proposed by the mother Synod of Holland. John Thomson and his eleven associates in the Synod of 1741, were guilty of an act of schism, which wrought wide-spread mischief which has continued to vex American Presbyterianism until recent times.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SEVERAL TYPES OF AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM.

THE intolerance and bigotry that brought about the division of the Synod of Philadelphia, and the organization of the two parties into separate Synods, worked mischief in many different directions. The rump Synod of Philadelphia, with great impropriety, claimed to be the "old side," because of their zeal for strict subscription and discipline. They were really the party who had been striving for several years to change the constitution and practice of the American Presbyterian Church. They were a body of Scotch-Irish ministers, endeavoring to remodel American Presbyterians after the fashion of the strict subscriptionists of the North of Ireland. The native-born American ministers, the Scotchmen, the Welshmen, and the more liberal Irish ministers of the type of Makemie, Hampton, Henry, and the Tennents, strove to carry out the generous and tolerant principles of the Fathers of Presbyterianism in America. The latter were called "the New Side." The "Old Side" had now reconstructed the Synod of Philadelphia after their own ideas, and were apart by themselves. The "new side" embraced the more active Methodists who had been excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia, and the mediating party who declined to recognize their excision, in the Synod of New York.

I.—THE COVENANTERS IN AMERICA.

There can be little doubt that the Covenanters were the most numerous among the original Scotch exiles

and emigrants to America; but they were scattered through the colonies, and were nowhere strong enough to organize themselves into covenanting churches. The division of the Synod of Philadelphia was the occasion for the introduction of the Reformed Presbytery into America. Alexander Craighead, son of Thomas Craighead, the Irish minister, who came to New England in 1715, and finally united with the Synod of Philadelphia in 1724,* was ordained November 18, 1735, at Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania. He was not only an earnest revivalist, but also a strict Covenanter.†

There ought to have been room enough in American Presbyterianism for this type of Scottish Christianity. But intense opposition to it was transplanted with the Irish ministers to America. He was, indeed, the immediate occasion of the division. It seems that David Alexander, of the Presbytery of Donegal, and John Cross, of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, were in sympathy with him.‡ He met with the Presbytery of New Brunswick after the division, as a corresponding member, and urged them to adopt the Solemn League and Covenant; but, when they declined to do this, separated from them, and appealed to the Reformed Presbytery in Scotland for support. John Cross was suspended by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1742, on account of serious charges against his character; but continued for some years to minister to his followers without Presbyterial

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* See p. 185. † See p. 85.

‡ John Thomson says: "Some of them preach up the national and solemn league and covenant; and give the breach of those covenants as the great and principal cause of the great decay of religion among us. Others of the same party never mention it, that I hear of. Some of them oblige parents to these covenants at the baptism of their children; and others do not. Yea, the same persons sometimes oblige parents to these covenants, and sometimes do not; as for instance Mr. Alexander Craighead, and Mr. John Cross." (*Government of the Church*, p. 43.)

connection. David Alexander was appointed to supply "the necessity of the Great Valley" in 1741, and this is the last that is known of him.

Alexander Craighead prepared a paper in advocacy of his opinions, but his views respecting the Solemn League and Covenant, brought him into unpleasant relations with the civil authorities. Thomas Cookson, J. P., of Lancaster Co., Pa., complained of it before the Synod of Philadelphia, May 26, 1743; and it was unanimously agreed:

"That it is full of treason, sedition, and distraction, and grievous perverting of the sacred oracles to the ruin of all societies and civil government, and directly and diametrically opposite to our religious principles, as we have on all occasions openly and publicly declared to the world; and we hereby unanimously, with the greatest sincerity, declare that we detest this paper, and with it all principles and practices that tend to destroy the civil or religious rights of mankind, or to foment or encourage sedition or dissatisfaction with the civil government that we are now under, or rebellion, treason, or anything that is disloyal. And if Mr. Alexander Craighead be the author we know nothing of the matter. And we hereby declare, that he hath been no member of our society for some time past, nor do we acknowledge him as such, though we cannot but heartily lament that any man that was ever called a Presbyterian, should be guilty of what is in this paper." (*Records*, p. 165.)

Alexander Craighead organized several churches of the Reformed Presbyterian principles in the vicinity of Middle Octorara. In 1751, he and some of his people turned from the Reformed Presbytery of Scotland to the Anti-Burger Synod of the Associate Presbyterian Church of Scotland; but the Reformed Presbytery were not disposed to abandon their adherents in America, and they sent over John Cuthbertson in 1751, to take charge of their flock in Pennsylvania. Cuthbertson labored at Middle Octorara until his death, March 10, 1791.*

* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 436.

II.—THE BURGER AND ANTI-BURGER PRESBYTERIANS IN AMERICA.

The fathers of the Secession from the Church of Scotland had organized a Presbytery Dec. 6, 1733, at Gairney Bridge.* The Presbytery had grown into a Synod in 1745, composed of three Presbyteries. They had agreed upon "a bond for public covenanting with God," and in 1743 began to swear and subscribe to it.† In 1745 they began to discuss the lawfulness of several oaths. They first declared against the Mason's oath, and then entered into sharp discussion with regard to the oaths imposed in some of the burghs of Scotland.

"The great point of debate was, whether it was lawful for a Seceder to swear that clause, *I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof: I shall abide at, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman Religion called Papistry.* Mess. Ebenezer and Ralph Erskines, James Fisher, and others, contended, that since it was *the true*, the divine religion, professed and authorized in Scotland, *itself*, and not the human and *faulty manner* of professing and settling *it*, that was sworn,—the words of the oath not being, as *presently professed and authorised*, but words of a very different import: That since, in their secession, they had never pretended to set up a new religion, but to cleave closely to that, which they had before professed: That since, in their various testimonies, they had solemnly approven the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, had solemnly declared their adherence to the standards avowed by the Established church, and no other; had so often declared their adherence to the ordination vows, which they had taken in the established church, whereby they were sworn to that religion, doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, professed and authorised in the realm: That since, though

* See p. 255; see also *Gairney Bridge Memorial*, pp. 40 *seq.*, Edinburgh, 1884.

† John Brown, *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession*, 4th edition, Glasgow, 1780, p. 51; John McKerrow, *History of the Secession Church*, revised edition, pp. 190 *seq.*, Edinburgh, 1845.

they had stated a quarrel with the manner, in which the true religion is presently professed and settled, and had testified against the corruptions of both church and State, yet they had been so far from stating a quarrel with *the true religion itself*, professed and authorised in the realm, that they had but two years before, in their declaration of principles against Mr. Nairn, judicially declared the religion presently authorised to be their own, solemnly thanking God, that *our religion* had such *security by the present civil government, as no nation on earth enjoys the like;* therefore they pled, that the Synod could not, without the most glaring self-contradiction, prohibit the swearing of the above clause; as, *in itself*, sinful for a Seceder.—Mess. Alexander Moncrief, Thomas Mair, Adam Gib, and others, no less warmly contended, That this oath being administrated by those of the established church, and ought to be understood in the sense of the magistrates, for whose security it is given; and the true religion mentioned in it to be understood, as reduplicating upon every act of parliament or assembly, inconsistent with the law of God; and as including all the corruptions of both church and state: and so natively inferred, That the swearing of the disputed clause, imported a solemn renounciation and dropping of the whole of their Testimony. They contended, that the words *true religion, presently professed and authorised*, in a time of reformation, would reduplicate only upon good acts of parliament and assembly; but in a time of deformation, reduplicated upon all the bad. After no small disputing, the defenders of the clause, and now called *Burghers*, for the sake of peace, offered to condescend to an act discharging Seceders to swear this clause of the oath, as *inexpedient* for them in the present circumstances, viz, of strife and contention about its meaning. This proposal the Anti-Burghers rejected. Nothing would please them, but an act, declaring the present swearing of it sinful for Seceders, and inconsistent with their testimony, and covenant-bond.

In a meeting of synod, April 9, 1746, they carried a *decision* to their mind. A number of the Burgher ministers and elders protested against it; and soon after gave in their reasons, importing, that it was sinful in itself, contrary to Christian forbearance, tending to rent the church, enacted contrary to the order prescribed in the barrier acts, and carried by a catch, when many members were absent." (John Brown, *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession*, 4th edition, Glasgow, 1780, pp. 52 *seq.*)

Two rival Synods were organized in 1747. In 1751 Alexander Craighead united with a number of kindred spirits in Pennsylvania in sending an urgent supplication to the Anti-Burger Synod that they would send missionaries to that part of America. This appeal was read in Synod, August, 1751, and the Synod appointed the Presbytery in Ireland to ordain James Hume for the purpose, and the Presbytery of Perth and Dunfermline, to ordain John Jameson. But neither of these probationers could be persuaded to go. At the next meeting, in 1752, they ordered Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Bunyan to be licensed and ordained for the purpose. The latter did not go and Andrew Arnot was appointed in his place. These two missionaries sailed in the summer of 1753, with instructions to constitute themselves into a Presbytery along with two elders, under the name of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania. James Proudfoot was ordained and sent out to join them, in August, 1754. These formed themselves in 1754 into the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, subordinate to the Associate Synod (Anti-Burger) of Edinburgh.

In 1757 they were joined by the Scots Presbyterian Church of New York City, which had separated itself from the mother church in the previous year.

This separation was the result of a short conflict which began early in the year 1752; the origin of which is described in the Records of the Trustees of the Congregation, as follows:

"This last year has been remarkable for a very important event, which for some few weeks appeared with a very threatening aspect. This church and congregation had for the space of 25 years flourished in great peace and tranquility with an entire harmony and agreement amongst its members. . . . . Within this year past a further attempt has been made amongst the ruling part of the church and congregation for the advancement of

honour and delight of divine worship, by introducing a new version of the Psalms. It was unanimously agreed at their meeting that a new version of the Psalms should be proposed to the congregation to be used instead of that *Low*, *flat* and *mean* version that had at first been introduced without consulting the minds of all those who were first engaged in the erecting of a Presbyterian church and congregation in this city." (*MS. Records of Trustees*, Jan. 1, 1753, p. 51.)

The exciting cause of the conflict was the change in the Psalmody, but there were other reasons of dissatisfaction which gathered about it. The complaints were as follows: (1) against the Trustees, that such a body of officers in the church was inconsistent with the Presbyterian plan of government; (2) against the associate pastor, Mr. Cummings, for inefficiency; (3) against the Baptism of children without a "form of covenanting" for the parents; (4) against the lack of a session of ruling elders.

It seems that the original session had passed out of existence, "by reason of the death of some, and the removal of others,"* so that the ministers and Trustees became "the ruling part of the church." Moreover the Trustees were jealous of ministerial interference with the temporal affairs of the congregation.†

* The church had ruling elders in 1720, as appears from the *Petition of the Presbyterians of New York* to be incorporated Sept. 19, 1720, in *Documentary History of the State of New York*, II., p. 461. They are also mentioned in the letter of Dr. Nicoll to the Agent of the Church of Scotland, dated Dec. 18, 1739. The Minute book of the Trustees of the 1st Church of New York (p. 1) speaks of "the elders, deacons and session room," in 1740. The failure of the session was therefore quite recent when they wrote in the Minutes: "*at present*, by reason of the death of some, and the *removal of others*, *we have not one lay elder or deacon*." Nathaniel Hazard appears on the Minutes of Synod of Philadelphia as elder in 1745, and William Eagles on the Minutes of Synod of New York in 1746.

† This jealousy is manifest in the following extract from the Journal of Transactions of the Trustees of the Presbyterian Congregation in the city of New York. They refer to Mr. Anderson "who sometime after his coming to New York affecting a Domination which English Presbyterians had not been used to,

The property of the church had been held at first by the four original purchasers in their own names, owing to the fact that it was impossible to procure a charter. After the withdrawal of two of the original purchasers, Dr. Nicoll assumed their obligations and associated with him James Anderson and several others as the holders of the property for the church. It was deemed best in 1730 to deed the property to representatives of the Church of Scotland, and Dr. Nicoll alone managed the affairs of the congregation after the removal of James Anderson, until his death in 1743. Then the congregation for the first time chose Trustees, eight in number, to take charge of the temporal affairs of the church. These gradually assumed the entire control: the church being without a session, even the ministers were powerless to restrain them. The opposition to the trustees broke out when they introduced a change in the Psalmody. In this act, however, they were supported by the ministers and the great majority of the congregation. The change in Psalmody originated in the great revivals of Methodism. This is so clearly brought out in the Journal of the Trustees that we shall quote their representation:

"That during the times of the Revival of Religion in the years

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and intermedling in the Temporalities of that Congregation and the disposition of the Publick Money (with which ministers ought to have no concern) a breach ensued, and the people were divided and scattered and the church fell into extreme poverty and Disgrace till at Length after nine years, Mr. Anderson was obliged to remove. And it is here to be remembered that this unhappy difference and the causes of it, and the terrible consequences that attended of it; are not entered into these memoirs with a design to reflect upon the memory of Mr. Anderson (who was hopefully a pious and zealous man) nor upon the memory of any person deceased or living but to stand as a warning in all future Times to the ministers and people of this church and congregation, that they do not again split upon that rock, on which the peace and union of this infant Church and congregation was miserably and scandalously broken. And that they in all future Times do in the most effectual manner guard against the causes of these Divisions and distractions that had like to have been the utter ruin and destruction of it." (pp. 1 *seq.*)

1739, 1740 and 1741 when God said to this church, arise, shine for thy light is come &c; there was a vast accession of people to this Light and to the brightness of this churches rising; in that period the poetick writings particularly the Hymns of the sweet singer of our Israel became of excellent service and for the divine relish which in the use of them had affected many minds. During that remarkable season, many of the people became desirous of introducing some one of the New Versions of the Psalms, into the stated publick worship of the congregation; and from their knowledge and experience of their suitableness to animate and raise their own devotion, hoping this might produce the same effect on others. After this matter had been some years under consideration and by the private use of the New Version, the old Version had become every day to the Taste of many more and more flat, dull, insipid and undevotional . . . and it had been judged that no objection could arise against introducing Doctor Watts version but from ignorance of the difference between the old version and that, or from some unreasonable prejudice, the ministers, elders, deacons and trustees with the approbation of the principal part of the congregation from a seeming view to the advancement of the divine glory, the honour of religion and the edification of the church, desired that, that version might be proposed to the congregation to be introduced in a months time unless sufficient reason to the contrary should be signified to Mr. Pemberton in the mean time. Within this period, a party appeared to have been formed, which constituted itself, as a society distinct from the rest of the congregation and assumed the name of the Scotch Presbyterian Society. This party drew together a great number of complaints against the minister, the trustees, the government of the church and the administration of the sacrament of Baptism and among the rest against the proposed introduction of the new version of the Psalms." (*MS. Journals*, p. 92)

The Synod appointed a Committee, composed of Samuel Davies, Samuel Finley, and Charles Beatty, to go to New York and direct and assist the congregation "in such affairs as may contribute to their peace and edification." At the same time they approved the Trustees, excused Mr. Cummings for his inefficiency on the ground of ill health, directed the church to proceed

to the choice of elders, and gave power to "the Committee to recommend Dr. Watts' version, if upon observation of circumstances they think it proper." Two elders were ordained, Daniel Van Horn and Isaac Horsfield, but it was not deemed expedient to recommend a change of the version of Psalms "at present." However, the pastors and Session determined to introduce the version of Dr. Watts. The Synod appointed a larger Committee in 1753 to heal the breach. This Committee decided with reference to Psalmody:

They "cannot think it regular for the ministers and elders to introduce a new version without the express consent and approbation of the majority of the congregation; yet since Dr. Watts' version is introduced in this church, and is well adapted for Christian worship, and received by many Presbyterian congregations, both in America and Great Britain, they cannot but judge it best for the well being of the congregation under their present circumstances, that they should be continued."

The pastors both resigned, and Mr. Pemberton accepted a call to Boston, where he preached for many years. Thereupon both parties sent a call to Joseph Bellamy, and agreed to compose their differences if he would become their pastor; but he deemed it best to decline. They then united in calling Mr. McGregorie, of New Londonderry, New Hampshire, and applied to the Presbytery of Boston for his dismission, May 14, 1755; but in vain. The majority thereupon called Mr. Bostwick, of Jamaica; the Synod sanctioned his removal, April 15, 1756; the minority separated, and organized the Scots congregation in New York.

The separating body were not different from the parent church in their views of the movement of Methodism; they had no disposition to unite with the Synod of Philadelphia; they were in agreement with the Erskines and the *Secession* Church of Scotland; they

were in accord with Alexander Craighead, who was the first to separate from "the New Side"; they naturally, therefore, connected themselves with the Secession Presbytery in Philadelphia. The secession was only partially national in character; for only a portion of the Scotchmen and Irishmen joined with the new organization. Yet it assumed the name of the *Scots* Presbyterian Church, and the mother church was called the *English* Presbyterian Church. The separation did not occasion any difficulties with the Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland recognized that the Seceders in New York City were of the same type as the Seceders in Scotland; and continued to feel a lively interest in the English Presbyterian Church in New York City, whose property still remained in her hands.

The Methodism of the New York Synod was of the type of Whitefield. It had carefully separated itself from the extravagances which had brought reproach upon the movement in some quarters. It was combined with a broad and generous type of Presbyterianism, which was recognized in England and in Scotland as more akin to the mother Churches of Great Britain than the stiff and narrow Presbyterianism of the Synod of Philadelphia.

The Scots Church in New York City was supplied for some time by Alexander Gellatly. Nathaniel Hazard, in a letter to Dr. Bellamy, December 8, 1755, says: "Gellatly has sense, learning and piety"; and again, November 17, 1758: "The Scots people have got up a new meeting house, about 27 feet wide and 40 feet long. Mr. Gellatly has been preaching in it four weeks."*

* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 247.

III.—THE UNION OF BRITISH, DUTCH, AND GERMAN PRESBYTERIANISM FRUSTRATED.

The separation of the several types of British Presbyterianism destroyed the possibility of combining the British with the German and Dutch types. Divine Providence in 1744 afforded the American Synod a magnificent opportunity for combining the entire Presbyterian and Reformed strength in the colonies into one grand organization.

At the meeting of Synod, May 25, 1744,

"the Rev. Mr. Dorsius, pastor of the Reformed Dutch church in Bucks county, laid a letter before us from the deputies of North and South Holland, wherein they desire of the Synod an account of the state of the High and Low Dutch churches in this province, and also of the churches belonging to the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, and whether the Dutch churches may be joined in communion with said Synod, or if this may not be, that they would form themselves into a regular body and government among themselves. In pursuance of which letter the Synod agree, that letters be wrote in the name of the Synod, to the deputies of these Synods in Holland, in Latin, and to the Scotch ministers in Rotterdam, giving them an account of the churches here, and declaring our willingness to join with the Calvinist Dutch churches here, to assist each other as far as possible in promoting the common interests of religion among us, and signifying the present great want of ministers among the High and Low Dutch, with desire that they may help in educating men for the work of the ministry."

Dorstius was an intimate friend of Frelinghuysen, and in hearty sympathy with Methodism, with the education of an American ministry, and with the organization of the American churches in independent ecclesiastical bodies. At this time the Dutch and the German churches were in an unorganized state, dependent upon the classis of Amsterdam, and subject to its authority and discipline.

The Dutch Reformed Church was planted in New York in 1628 by the organization of a Reformed church, by Jonas Michaëlius.* Under the Dutch West India Company the Dutch Reformed Church prospered with the growth of the colony. At the time of the surrender to the English, in 1664, there were seven ministers and eleven churches, besides out-stations.† "The English conquest gave a sudden check to the development and prosperity of the Reformed church. The number of the ministry was reduced from seven to three, and it continued at this small number for half a score of years, although there were 10,000 people to be ministered to." ‡

A provisional classis of five ministers was formed, in 1679, in order to ordain a minister for the Dutch Reformed church at Newcastle on the Delaware, but it seems to have been necessary that this ordination should be approved by the classis of Amsterdam.§ Dominie Selyns returned to New York to take charge of affairs in 1682.

"He possessed, in an eminent degree, that rare combination of faculties which unites the zeal of the preacher, seeking the salvation of souls, with the prudence of the presbyter, looking after the temporalities of the church. He was systematic, energetic, and industrious in his ministerial and pastoral duties. He was the chief of the early ministers to enlarge the usefulness of the church, and to secure for it a permanent and independent foundation. He was of a catholic spirit, when liberality was not so common, speaking kindly of other denominations and rejoicing in their success." (Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 459.)

The usurpations of the English governors, Fletcher and Cornbury, gave the Dutch Reformed no little anx-

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* E. T. Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, 3d edition, N. Y., 1879, p. 3.

† Corwin, *Manual*, p. 11.

‡ Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 13.

§ Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 15.

iety. But the policy of the representatives of the Church of England seems to have been rather to court the Dutch ministers and people, to prevent the establishment of English dissenting churches, and to encourage in every way the establishment of the Church of England in the colonies. Selyns was successful in obtaining a charter for the Reformed Church in New York, May 11, 1696, and then for the first felt that his church was in a condition to resist further encroachments. The other Dutch Reformed churches had no difficulty in obtaining charters—but the English dissenting churches applied for them over and over again in vain.* The efforts of Frelinghuysen and his associates were rewarded with a large increase of the church, and great efforts were put forth to secure ministers. The supplies from Holland could not be depended upon. Several candidates sent from America to be educated in Holland were lost on the passage. Frelinghuysen

"was the first pastor of the Reformed church who began to train up young men for the ministry, and was, perhaps, the first minister in favour of the independence of the church in America. Although he helped to initiate, he did not live to take part in the assemblies of the Coetus; but it was largely owing to his zeal, his foresight and his persecutions, with their happy results, which finally brought about the entire reorganization of the Dutch church." (Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 25.)

A Coetus was first proposed by the classis of Amsterdam to the Dutch Reformed ministers in 1736, and several meetings were held to accomplish its organization. But there were many difficulties in the way, and it was not accomplished until 1747. It was in the midst of these discussions, before the Dutch Reformed churches had any sort of a classical organization in America, that

* C. W. Baird, *Civil Status of the Presbyterians in the Province of New York*, N. Y., 1879.

the proposition for union was brought before the Synod of Philadelphia.

The proposal from the Synods of Holland embraced the German Reformed as well as the Dutch Reformed. Indeed it was the German Reformed minister, Dorstius, who was commissioned to bring the matter of union before the Synod of Philadelphia.

German Reformed emigrants began to settle in Pennsylvania in 1684. In 1709 five thousand Germans from the Palatinate removed to America through the aid of Queen Anne, and settled in the Valley of the Mohawk. Many Swiss Reformed mingled with the Germans. The classis of Amsterdam, at the request of the Palatinate Church, undertook the care of these emigrant churches. The colonists brought their own ministers with them. George Weiss settled with a colony in Skippach, near Philadelphia, in 1727. In 1737 Dorstius removed to Philadelphia. He had been educated for America under the direction of two clergymen of Holland. On his arrival he became closely associated with Frelinghuysen, and united with him in the ordination of Goetschius in 1738. This was regarded as irregular by the classis of Amsterdam, and occasioned difficulties which were not adjusted until Dorstius visited Holland in 1743. Immediately on his return to America he laid the proposition for Union from the Synods of Holland before the Synod of Philadelphia.

Here was a magnificent opportunity for the Synod of Philadelphia to combine in its fold the German, Dutch, and British Presbyterian Churches of America. The Synods of Holland seem to have preferred the plan of a single Synod for all the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of America, to the plan of a *Coetus*, which at the best could be only an inadequate and provisional organization. But unfortunately the Presbytery of New

Brunswick, and the Methodists, with whom Dorstius and the Reformed ministers generally sympathized, had been excluded. The efforts of the Presbytery of New York to heal the breach were fruitless. The Synod of New York was about to be organized. If healing measures had then been adopted, this grand scheme might have been accomplished. The twelve Protesters of 1741, by persisting in the wrong which they had done in dividing the American Presbyterian Church, threw away the one great opportunity, which has never since been repeated, of combining the entire Presbyterian strength of America in one compact organization. For there can be little doubt that if the views of the Presbytery of New York had prevailed in the Synod of 1744, the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and New Londonderry would have been restored to their rightful position in the Synod; the breaches would have been healed, the Dutch and German Churches would have been cordially received; the corresponding breaches in these Churches would have been prevented from expanding into those schisms which soon afterwards distracted them; the French Churches of New York and Carolina would have joined the Union; and Presbyterianism would have become so strong in the Middle colonies that it would have been impossible to resist its onward sweep. It would have intrenched itself as the national Church of these colonies as strongly as Congregationalism had established itself in New England.

But such a supremacy of Presbyterianism in America might have involved a premature struggle with the English crown; it would have prevented the establishment of those principles of liberty and equality which are now the boast of the American Republic. Presbyterianism had to suffer through the folly of the twelve Protesters of 1741, and forfeit the religious supremacy of America,

in order that there might be a Free Church in a Free State; in order to the establishment of the principles of Religious Toleration, Fraternal Recognition of different Denominations, and Ecclesiastical Comprehension, on a grander scale than Presbyterianism aimed at in the eighteenth century.

All of these principles are wrapt up in the essential principles of Puritanism and Presbyterianism, but they did not disclose themselves when Presbyterianism was in power in Great Britain; they would not have manifested themselves in a dominant Presbyterianism in America. It was the external struggle against civil injustice and tyranny, and the internal struggle with narrowness, intolerance, and bigotry that made Presbyterianism in America the champion of civil and religious liberty.

IV.—EXTENSION OF PRESBYTERIANISM INTO VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

The rupture of American Presbyterianism was a serious blow to its extension into Virginia and North Carolina. In 1732 Joist Hite led the settlement of the Shenandoah valley in Virginia. He was followed by large numbers from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, and especially by immigrants from Ireland, who were met in landing on the Delaware with special inducements for migrating thither.* Samuel Gelston was probably the first Presbyterian minister in all that region.†

On September 2, 1737, "the people of Beverly Manor

* Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, II. Series, Phila., 1855, chapter i. In 1736 Mr. Samuel Gelston was appointed by the Donegal Presbytery to visit "some new inhabitants near Opeckon in Virginia, who have been writing to Mr. Gelston, and, when he was over the river, desired a visit of this kind; and he is to spend some time in preaching to said new inhabitants according to discretion." (Foote, in *l. c.*, II., p. 21.)

† See p. 177.

in the back parts of Virginia" applied to the Presbytery of Donegal for supplies. But the Presbytery "did not judge it expedient for several reasons to supply them this winter," but directed James Anderson "to write an encouraging letter to the people to signify that the Presbytery resolves if it be in their power to grant their request next spring." *

In 1738 John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many Presbyterian families about to settle in the "back parts of Virginia," requested the Synod of Philadelphia to solicit the favor of the government of Virginia in their behalf. The Synod prepared a letter to William Gooch, Lieutenant-Governor of the province, as follows:

"May it please your honour, we take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government, and are of the same persuasion with the Church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your honour with their design, and to ask your favour in allowing them the liberty of their consciences, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education. Your honour is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession, in the illustrious house of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious sovereign King George, and we doubt not but these our brethren will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements where their lot may be cast, which will ever influence them to the most dutiful submission to the government which is placed over them. This we trust will recommend them to your honour's countenance and protection, and merit the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. We pray for the Divine blessing upon your person and government, and beg leave to subscribe ourselves your honour's most humble and obedient servants." (*Records*, p. 142.)

The Synod also appointed two of their number to

* Foote, in *l. c.*, II., p. 27.

wait upon the Governor and Council of Virginia to the same effect. James Anderson, of Donegal Presbytery, alone was able to go. He met a favorable reception, and brought with him a letter from Mr. Gooch to the Moderator, as follows:

"SIR: By the hands of Mr. Anderson I received an address signed by you, in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have been always inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces, to settle on the western side of our great mountains; so you may be assured, that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the act of toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the places of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as an answer of theirs. Your most humble servant, William Gooch." (*Records*, p. 147.)

The chief difficulty having thus been removed, when the people of Beverly Manor made a second request to the Presbytery, in September, 1739, the Synod appointed John Thomson to visit them, and in the same year sent John Craig, a licentiate, to "Opecquon, the High Tract, and other societies of our persuasion in Virginia, at his discretion."* In September, 1740, he was ordained by the Presbytery to the pastorate of the church "at Shenandoah and the South River, and became the first pastor of the American Synod in the colony of Virginia."†

The settlement at the head-waters of the James River applied to the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1739, and again in 1741, for supplies. In 1742 William Robinson went into the valley of Virginia in the true apostolic

* Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, II., pp. 27–28.

† Foote gives his narrative in *Sketches of Virginia*, II., pp. 28 *seq.*

spirit, and pursued his missionary journey into the new settlements in North Carolina, being the first Presbyterian minister in that region. He returned along the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, achieving grand evangelistic success.*

The beginnings of Presbyterianism in North Carolina were at Duplin and New Hanover on the sea-coast. The original settlers in 1736 were from Ulster.† But soon after a colony of Highlanders from Argyleshire settled at the Forks of Cape Fear River.‡ These Highlanders in 1741 applied to the Presbytery of Inverary and the Society in Scotland for the Propagating Christian Knowledge. The Society appropriated £21 for the minister, and authorized the Presbytery of Inverary to select him. It was reported to the Society in January, 1742, that the Presbytery "would find a minister to go as missionary to North Carolina with a great many Highlanders from Argyleshire the ensuing summer," but we have failed to find any evidence that any minister actually went with them.§

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* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 475; Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 158.

† Foote, in *l. c.*, p. 78.

‡ Whitefield found many "Scotch amongst the congregation" at Newtown, on Cape Fear River, "who had lately come over to settle in North Carolina." (*Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal*, 2d edit., London, 1740, p. 75.)

§ The only records on the minutes of the Presbytery of Inverary relating to the subject are the following, kindly furnished me by the clerk:

"Kilmartin, 3rd Novr. 1741.

"After prayer rolls called and marked. There was a representation at this time laid before the Presbry. by Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland for himself & the Argyle Colony settled at Capefair in North Carolina shewing their earnest desire of having a minister soon settled among them, who is a person of merit and of an unblemished character, because the Gospel is yet in effect to be planted in those parts where there is a considerable number from our bounds already settled and a prospect of a great number of the poorer sort to follow and who are in deplorable circumstances for want of Gospel ordinances there being but two or three ministers in the whole province and these of a poor character, who

In 1742 the Virginians requested the Commission of Synod to write to the General Assembly in Scotland to send them a probationer or minister. Accordingly Synod in 1743 wrote to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to

"Intreat them both to send ministers and probationers to us, and to allow them some small support out of their fund for some years in new places. And that they be pleased to enable us in some measure, or by some method, to erect a Seminary or school for educating young men for these ends among ourselves."

The Church of Scotland took no action with reference to this appeal, partly owing to the division in the Synod, but chiefly because it was impossible to procure the men.

In 1744 "A representation from many people of North Carolina, was laid before the Synod showing their deso-

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besides have not the language spoke & only understood by the major part of the Colony and therefore craving that the Presbry. would write to the Honourable Society for propagating Christian Knowledge at Edinburgh signifying the sallary allowed by them for supporting a minister in those parts is so inconsiderable that no person of any merit can be prevailed on, to transport himself thither in order to be their minister and that it will be necessary the society should give a years sallary in hand for defraying the charges of his transportation as also craving that the Presbry. would not desire them now to name the person they incline to have for their minr. till they see what additional encouragement can be obtained from the Society and with-all promising that no person shall be desired by them but such as shall be acceptable to the Presbry. and against whose sufficiency there will be no objection.

"The Presbry. having read and considered the said representation and being highly sensible of the truth thereof have unanimously agreed to grant the desire thereof and accordingly appointed a letter to be wrote in the most pressing terms to the said society for the above effect & Mr. Lambie to bring in a draft of it to their next meeting."

"Kilmichael in Glasrie 18th Novr. 1741.

"The members present had a draft of a letter to the society for propagating Christian Knowledge laid before them by Mr. Archibald Lambie who was appointed to bring in the same to this dyet, which being read and considered the same was approven & the Clerk is appointed to write the said letter to be signed by the Moderator and sent to Edinburgh." (*Extracted from the Records of the Presbytery of Inverary by P. N. Mackishan, Pres. Cl., Inverary, N. B., 31 Dec.*, 1884.)

late condition, and requesting the Synod to take their estate into consideration." Messrs. David Evans, Samuel Evans, and Griffith were appointed to write to Wales "to desire a probationer may be sent from them to us if they possibly can."

The Synod were in straits to meet the demands made upon them to supply the new settlements, and yet they had cast out the Methodist evangelists, rejected the Log College, and opposed the earnest efforts put forth by these godly men to train up a native ministry.

In the meanwhile the young men from the Log College were prosecuting their missionary labors with apostolic zeal and abundant success. As William Robinson, of the Presbytery of New Brunswick (a graduate of the Log College), had made a missionary tour of wonderful success in 1742–3, so now another of the graduates of the Log College, William Dean, went with Eliab Byram, of the Presbytery of New York, to the valley of Virginia and preached in 1745–7. Their labors were blessed with a great revival which continued until 1751.* Dean was called to the church at Timber Ridge and Forks of the James River, May 18, 1748, but he died July 9th of the same year, aged 29, worn out like Robinson with arduous and self-denying labors. Dean and Byram came into conflict with Craig, the representative of "the Old Side" in Virginia, and great bitterness of feeling was excited.† "The Old Side" stirred up the government of Virginia against the revivalists. Lieut.-Gov. William Gooch delivered a charge to the Grand Jury of the colony against them, representing:

"The information I have received of certain *false teachers* that are lately crept into this government; who without orders or li-

* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 526.

† See Craig's *Narrative*, in Foote's *Sketches*, II., p. 31.

censes, or producing any testimonial of their education or sect, professing themselves ministers under the pretended influence of *new light*, *extraordinary impulse*, and *such like* fanatical and enthusiastic knowledge, lead the innocent and ignorant people into all kinds of delusion, and in this frantic and profane disguise, though such is their heterodoxy, that they treat all other modes of worship with the utmost scorn and contempt." (*Records*, p. 182.)

This charge was laid before the Synod of Philadelphia in 1745, and they adopted the following reply:

"To the Honourable William Gooch, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the colony of Virginia, &c. The humble address, &c.:

"May it please your Honour: The favourable acceptance which your Honour was pleased to give our former address, and the countenance and protection which those of our persuasion have met with in Virginia, fills us with gratitude, and we beg leave on this occasion in all sincerity to express the same. It very deeply affects us to find, that any who go from these parts, and perhaps assume the name of Presbyterians, should be guilty of such practices, such uncharitable, unchristian expressions, as are taken notice of in your Honour's charge to the grand jury. And in the mean time it gives us the greatest pleasure, that we can assure your Honour, these persons never belonged to our body, but are missionaries sent out by some, who by reason of their divisive and uncharitable doctrines and practices, were in May, 1741, excluded from our Synod, upon which they erected themselves into a separate society, and have industriously sent abroad persons whom we judge ill qualified for the character they assume, to divide and trouble the churches. And, therefore, we humbly pray, that while those who belong to us and produce proper testimonials, behave themselves suitably, they may still enjoy the favour of your Honour's countenance and protection. And praying for the divine blessing on your person and government, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, may it please your Honour, your Honour's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant. Signed in the name and per order of the Synod Robert Cathcart, Moderator." (*Records*, p. 183.)

Thus "the old side" committed themselves against

the revival efforts of "the new side," in Virginia; and urged on the government of Virginia against their opponents. In reward for this they were promised the countenance of the government of Virginia.* The Synod of New York, at its first meeting September 19, 1745, took precisely the reverse course of action:

"Ordered that Mess. Gilbert Tennent, Samuel Blair and Ebenezer Pemberton, do draw up a testimony to the work of God's glorious grace, which has been carried on in these parts of the land and bring it in for the approbation of the Synod at their next *Sederunt*. The circumstances of Virginia being brought under consideration, and the wide door that is opened for the preaching of the gospel in those parts, with a hopeful prospect of success, the Synod are unanimously of the opinion, that Mr. Robinson is the most suitable person to be sent among them, and accordingly they do earnestly recommend him to go down and help as soon as his circumstances will permit him, and reside there for some months."

Robinson was detained by a revival at Wicomico, in Maryland, and at St. George's, Delaware, and died August 1, 1746, with the parting request that Samuel Davies, his pupil and friend, should go to Hanover and take up the work in Virginia.

Samuel Davies is one of the greatest divines the American Presbyterian Church has produced. He began his work at Hanover, Virginia, in 1747, but "discouragements from the government were renewed and multiplied." He settled as pastor in 1748. John Rogers, his assistant, was not allowed to qualify under the Toleration Act, and he was obliged to labor alone for some time. Seven houses were licensed for meetings, and in three years 300 persons were added to the communion of the church. In 1752, John Todd was licensed as his assistant, and he was appointed to go to Europe in be-

* *Records*, p. 185.

half of the College of New Jersey. The Synod took advantage of this opportunity to appeal to their friends in Great Britain for aid in their efforts to obtain relief from the "illegal restraints" under which the Presbyterians were suffering in Virginia:

"Whereas, the Protestant dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination in the colony of Virginia lie under some restraints, particularly with regard to the number of their meeting-houses, which is not at all equal to what their circumstances require, though they have taken all legal measures to have a sufficient number registered according to the act of toleration; and whereas, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Davies has been appointed to take a voyage to Great Britain in behalf of the college of New Jersey, and may have an opportunity of using proper means to procure a redress of said grievance, this Synod do humbly and earnestly request the concurrence and assistance of their friends there, for the relief of an helpless and oppressed people in a point of so great consequence, in which their religious liberties are so nearly concerned.

"We do therefore cheerfully recommend the said Mr. Davies, who is settled in Virginia, and the Rev. Mr. John Todd, his colleague, as regular and worthy members of their body, zealously and prudently engaged in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom." (*Records*, p. 258.)

Through the efforts of Davies and his associates the new side gained a strong hold upon Virginia and North Carolina, and laid the foundations of Presbyterianism in these colonies.

V.—MISSIONS AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

The missionary work among the American Indians, which was conducted by the Synod of New York, originated from the legacy of Daniel Williams to the *Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge*.

"The design of erecting a Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, took its rise among a few private gentlemen that did usually meet in Edinburgh for reformation of man-

ners; who *anno* 1701 reflecting upon the ignorance, atheism, popery and impiety, that did so much abound in the Highlands and isles of Scotland, did justly reckon that they flowed, in a great measure, from the want of suitable means of instruction." (*An Acct. of the Rise, constitution and management of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.* 2d edition, Edinburgh, 1720, p. 6.)

The Society began as a private enterprise, but it was soon found that "they were not able in their private capacity to do so great and publick a work." They applied to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for aid in 1706, and were encouraged by a national collection. A charter was obtained July 14, 1709, and eighty-two leading Presbyterians of Scotland were chosen members of the Society.

The Rev. Daniel Williams, of London, crowned a life of wondrous usefulness and benevolence with several legacies for the propagating of the gospel. He had been one of the founders of the *General Fund* at Dublin,* and of the *Presbyterian Fund* in London,† and now at his death left his library and a fund to establish the Dr. Williams Library of London.‡ He also left property for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Adjacent Parts.§ But the legacy which proved of most service to the American Presbyterian Church was given by Dr. Williams to the *Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, with the shrewd provision:

"That the Society are not to be put in possession of the estate until a twelvemonth after the Society have actually sent three Missionaries to foreign parts."

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* Appendix, p. lix.

† Appendix, p. lviii.

‡ This is one of the richest Puritan libraries in the world. It contains the original Minutes of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Richard Baxter's private correspondence, and rich stores of MSS. relating to the origin and growth of Puritanism in England.

§ See Appendix, p. xxxix.

The revenue from the estate at that time was £56 sterling. The Society in Scotland found it difficult to comply with these terms, but the London Trustees of Dr. Williams' trust refused to convey the estate at Calworth to the Society until they secured these missionaries and had sustained them for one year.

The Society addressed a letter through Prof. Hamilton to Jonathan Dickinson, Moderator of the Commission of the Synod of Philadelphia, in 1729. March 26, 1730, Jonathan Dickinson, replied—

"setting forth that the said commission convened to consider the letter sent them concerning Dr. Williams' Legacy and tho' they thought proper to defer a conclusive answer till the session of the Synod in September current, yet they thought their duty to give the Society their most hearty thanks for their religious regards to the spiritual welfare of these parts of the world, and to inform them that there are two tribes of the Aboriginal native Indians adjacent to their settlement whose Princes seem inclined to receive christian instruction, and it is hoped will approve themselves forward to encourage a mission of the gospel among them." (*MS.* Minute Book of Society.)

Sept. 19, 1730, the matter was brought before the Synod of Philadelphia, and a committee appointed to answer the letter from the Commission of the Church of Scotland.

In the meanwhile it was deemed best by the Society in Scotland to co-operate with the Boston ministers on the ground

"that they think that as New England comes the nearest to the Church of Scotland in religious matters and as their university of New Cambridge does doubtless breed a good number of students in divinity, three persons may from thence be commissioned by the Society to go as missionaries to the Indian Frontiers (for they must not be such as are already employed in that design.)" (*MS.* Minute Book of Society.)

Gov. Belcher was about to depart for New England and he consented to act as one of the corresponding members. At his suggestion Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth, of Cambridge, Messrs. Joseph Sewell and Benjamin Colman, Col. Fitch, John Boreland, and Cap. Steele were associated with him. A response was made to the Synod of Philadelphia,

"shewing that before their letter came to hand the Society had come to a resolution to send their missionaries first to the colony of New England and had in pursuance thereof established a correspondence there for assisting to carry on the attempt for the conversion of infidel pagans in those parts of the world."

The New England correspondents in 1732 secured Joseph Secomb to labor at Block House, on Georges River; Ebenezer Hinsdale, at Fort Drummer, on Connecticut River; and Stephen Parker, at Fort Richmond, in the Eastern country. But in 1737 these were dismissed, owing to their unwillingness to comply with the views of the Society in Scotland, "to abandon their present posts and go farther into the Indian country and dwell among the Indians."

This made it impossible for the Society to carry on its work from New England. Accordingly they listened to an application from Jonathan Dickinson and Ebenezer Pemberton, July 8, 1738,

"setting forth, the dark and perishing circumstances of great numbers of people in those parts of America, where are nations of Indians upon the borders of these contiguous provinces, that continue in paganism. Also great numbers of people dispersed upon new plantations in the provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pa., almost in a state of heathendom thro want of gospel ordinances. And praying the Society would encourage one or two qualified ministers as itinerant preachers among these ungospelized places."

January 4, 1739, it was resolved by the Committee of the Society,

"to send a letter to Rev. Mess. Pemberton and Dickinson with some proposals for encouraging missionary ministers already settled, or who hereafter may be residents upon the borders of these contiguous provinces, who will undertake to employ (at least) some part of their time in travelling and abiding with the ignorant people living in those ungospelized places." (*MS. Minutes of Society.*)

Ebenezer Pemberton wrote to the Society October 27, 1739, stating:

"that the Synod have no hopes of finding out a person, who has the Indian tongue fit for such a mission (to the Indians) but propose to find out a suitable man who will reside among the Indians frequently and catechize and teach them to read, and preach among them, and also, shall be obliged to get the Indian tongue with all convenient dispatch that so they may in a little time be able to preach to them in their own language. That a place upon the border of Philadelphia upon the borders of the river Susquehanna seems to afford a large prospect of success, and Mr. Sargent is now introducing some acquaintance with them and proposes to prepare the way for their acceptance of the gospel when it can be sent among them."

In 1741 the Society appointed William Smith, attorney, Doctor John Nicoll, Nath. Hazard, merchant, Joseph Bennet, Rev. Messrs. John Pierson, Aaron Burr, Jonathan Dickinson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, and John Sargent, "the Society's correspondents and commissioners to oversee and direct such measures as shall be employed for the purpose above mentioned." The Commissioners in New York entered zealously and energetically upon their work. John Sargent was engaged as the first missionary, and labored among the Indians on the Housatonic, making his first report to the Society in 1741.

Azariah Horton was licensed by the Presbytery of New York in 1742, and employed as the second missionary among the Indians on Long Island. David Brainerd was appointed, in 1743, the third missionary to labor among the Indians on the Delaware and the Susquehanna. The missions were wonderfully successful. The Indian settlements enjoyed the same kind of revivals as those which accompanied the Methodist movement elsewhere. Brainerd was an apostolic man like Eliot before him. He was cut down in the morning of life and at the outset of his remarkable career. In 1748 his brother John was appointed in his stead.

The Synod of New York were not content to employ the funds from Scotland; they raised considerable sums among their own churches in New York and New Jersey, and in 1751 enjoined "all their members to appoint a collection in their several congregations once every year" for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. This was the beginning of the Foreign Mission Work of American Presbyterianism.

The missions among the Indians enjoyed only a temporary prosperity. In 1754 Mr. Horton resigned his position, "the mission not being found so extensively useful as had at first been expected." In 1755 John Brainerd also resigned, because the Indians "having parted with their lands would soon be obliged to move from that place," and "by reason of the present dangerous situation of the back part of the country it would be difficult to open a mission there this year." The mission was given in charge of Mr. Tennent for a season. It became evident that nothing permanent could be accomplished unless the converted Indians could be settled upon lands of their own. Accordingly the correspondents in New York in 1757 resolved to purchase 3,000 acres of land for the Indians to settle on. They raised

£150 themselves, and desired the Society in Scotland and Mr. Whitefield in London to aid them. Finding that nothing would be done in London, the Society, November 17, 1757, appropriated £300 to complete the purchase of the land, "provided the land was conveyed to the Society in Scotland." March 2, 1758, the Society resolved to purchase 4,000 acres, square or oblong; "that at each of the angles an obelisk should be erected with a brass inscription certifying the Society's property therein." The Government of New Jersey set apart a considerable tract of land in Southern New Jersey, called the Brotherton tract, for the perpetual use of the Indians, in consideration of an agreement on the part of the Indians to relinquish their claims to other lands in the colony.

John Brainerd was reappointed in 1757, and the work resumed under his direction among the Indians in their new settlement. The missions among the American Indians were successful, but the circumstances of the case prevented the attainment of permanent results. The work of the Brainerds, like that of the Eliots and Mayhews before them, was a mighty work of God in the conversion and consecration of these poor Indians; but it could not result in the establishment of permanent Indian churches. The missionaries were obliged to follow the tribes as they retreated before the advances of civilization, and rescue as many as possible of the multitudes whom the vices and diseases which civilization brought to them were rapidly carrying away. The Christian Indians who survived the diseases of civilization became absorbed in the settled communities as servants in the households and upon the farms of their conquerors.

VI.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIAN INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING.

The Log College established by William Tennent, Senior, at Neshaminy,* was of immense service to the cause of Christ in the training of a considerable number of godly and efficient ministers;† but this was not the college which was needed by the American Presbyterian Church. The efforts of the Synod to establish a synodical college were interrupted by the separation; but both of the Synods very soon set to work with earnestness to solve this serious problem of training a native ministry.

There were quite a number of classical academies, conducted by several of the more eminent ministers, in connection with their churches, but the Middle colonies needed a college, such as Harvard and Yale in New England.

The Old Side in 1744 adopted the New London Academy, established by Francis Alison in 1741, and strove to make this into a college. Francis Alison was ap-

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* See p. 242.

† George Whitefield visited it in 1739 and said: "The place wherein the young men study now is in contempt called *the College*. It is a Log House, about Twenty Feet long, and near as many broad: and to me it seemed to resemble the Schools of the old prophets.—For that their habitations were mean, and that they sought not great Things for themselves, is plain from that Passage of Scripture, wherein we are told, that at the Feast of the Sons of the Prophets, one of them put on the Pot, whilst the others went to fetch some Herbs out of the Field. All that can be said of most of our publick universities is, they are all glorious *without*. From this despised Place, Seven or Eight worthy Ministers of *Jesus* have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready to be sent, and a Foundation is now laying for the Instruction of many others." (*Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal*, 2d edition, London, 1740, p. 44.) Dr. Archibald Alexander gives biographical sketches of the following alumni of the college: Gilbert Tennent, John Tennent, William Tennent, Jr., Charles Tennent, Samuel Blair, John Blair, Samuel Finley, William Robinson, John Rowland, and Charles Beatty: several of whom were eminent as evangelists, and instructors of other institutions. (See Arch. Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College*, Philadelphia, 1851.)

pointed master;* several trustees were selected to have charge of its affairs, and a collection in its behalf was ordered in all the churches.

"The Synod of Philadelphia had now a school under their own care, and an able teacher; but as they had manifested so great a reluctance to receive the pupils of Mr. Tennent's school, without a better education than could be afforded by a grammar school, they could not for consistency's sake be satisfied with the course of instruction in their own school, where there were no more professors than in the Log College. They therefore thought of a plan of sending their young men, for a short period, to Yale College, to receive a diploma, if they could make an arrangement with the faculty and trustees of the college that would suit them. Messrs. Andrews and Cross were appointed to write a letter to the president and corporation of the aforesaid college. This letter is not on record; neither is President Clapp's answer. But on receiving his letter they appointed a large Committee to prepare a letter in answer, which is preserved in the Records of the Church."† (Arch. Alexander, *Log College*, p. 88.)

The Synod of Philadelphia had placed themselves in an awkward position by their hostility to the Log College. They found it impossible to organize as good an institution themselves. They were obliged to appeal to Yale College to beg "all the indulgence your constitution can allow us." And they did not hesitate to express their sympathy with the Faculty of the college in the case of David Brainerd, and their censure of the course of the Synod of New York in receiving this most devoted man into the ministry. Notwithstanding all these efforts the plan of a connection with Yale College failed, and the Old Side were left in the position of having a synodical academy which was in all respects inferior to the Log College. Francis Alison did not long remain

* See p. 261.

† See Appendix XXVIII., where the Letter is given.

with the synodical academy. He removed to Philadelphia in 1749, in an irregular manner, without consulting the Synod, and took charge of a grammar school, which grew into a college in 1755. Soon afterwards the school at New London was removed to Newark, Delaware, and continued to improve as an academy under the instruction of Alexander McDowell and Matthew Wilson.

The New Side were more successful in their educational efforts. The Log College was the basis for the College of New Jersey. William Tennent became feeble with old age, resigned his pastorate in 1743, and died May 6, 1746, without leaving any one competent to fill his place at the head of the Log College. The time had come to establish something better in its place. Accordingly, through the efforts of Jonathan Dickinson, a charter for a new college was obtained October 22, 1746; and Dickinson, Pierson, Pemberton, and others were appointed trustees; these selected Dickinson for President of the college; and it was opened in the President's house at Elizabethtown in May, 1747.* No better man could have been found to lay the foundation of Presbyterian Higher education in America. He was head and shoulders above his brethren in the ministry in intellectual and moral endowments—the recognized leader in all the crises of the Church.

It was a serious blow to the college as well as the Church when he was removed by death in the first year of his presidency, October 7, 1747. The college was then removed to Newark, in 1748; Aaron Burr was appointed president, and the friends of the Log College attached themselves to it. The college was designed as a centre of education for the New Side, which had lost

* E. F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth*, pp. 349 *seq.*

confidence in Yale College, owing to its opposition to the revival movement, and its unkind dealings with David Brainerd. On this account, Jonathan Edwards and other New England Methodists gave the new college their hearty support. Governor Belcher, of New Jersey, writes to Jonathan Edwards, May 31, 1748:

"As to our embryo college, it is a noble design, and, if God pleases, may prove an extensive blessing. I have adopted it for a daughter, and hope it may become an *alma mater* to this and the neighbouring provinces. I am getting the best advice and assistance I can in the draft of a charter, which I intend to give to our infant college; . . . . the accounts I receive from time to time, give me reason to believe that Arminianism, Arianism, and even Socinianism, in destruction of the doctrines of free grace, are daily propagated in the New England colleges." (Arch. Alexander, *Log College*, p. 81.)

Ebenezer Pemberton wrote to the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, asking aid for the infant college. The Society, in 1748, authorized the education of one young man at the college at their expense; in 1749 appropriated £30 for the purchase of books for its library; and in 1750 granted it an appropriation for the education of two young Indians. In 1751 the Synod wished to send Mr. Pemberton to Great Britain to solicit contributions for the college, but the congregation in New York City were unwilling to part with him. Accordingly the trustees sent a petition to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This petition was presented in 1752, supported by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and a national collection was desired. The petition was referred by the General Assembly to its Commission. In the meanwhile Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies had been appointed by the Synod of New York to visit Great Britain in behalf of the college. They went at

once to London and appealed to the English Presbyterians and Congregationalists. They were at first regarded with some suspicion on account of an unfavorable opinion of the terms of subscription in the American Synods, on the part of the leading Presbyterians, who were non-subscribers. Davies tells us:

"Went to Hamlin's coffee-house among the Presbyterians, where they are generally very shy and unsociable to me. They have universally, as far I can learn, rejected all tests of orthodoxy, and require their candidates, at their ordination, to declare only their belief of the Scriptures. Mr. Prior, with the appearance of great uneasiness, told me that he had heard we would admit none into the ministry without subscribing to the Westminster Confession; and that this report would hinder all our success among the friends of liberty. I replied that we allowed the candidate to mention his objections against any article in the Confession, and the judicature judged whether the articles objected against, were essential to Christianity; and if they judged they were not, they would admit the candidate, notwithstanding his objections. He seemed to think that we were such rigid Calvinists, that we would not admit an Arminian into communion." (See Davies' *Journal*, in Foote's *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 257. Philadelphia, 1850.)

This explanation of the Adopting Act, showing its breadth and tolerance, seems to have removed the scruples of the leading Presbyterians, and they responded liberally. April 7, 1754, he represents that £1,200 had been raised in England, and soon after the amount rose to £1,700.*

Messrs. Tennent and Davies then went to Scotland, appeared before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, presented the cause of the college May 27, 1754, and an Act was passed for a national collection in its favor.† The Act was supported by a recommenda-

* Davies' *Journal*, in *l. c.*, pp. 258-259.

† See Appendix XXIX. for this Act.

tion from the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The collection in Scotland amounted to upwards of £1,000.*

Tennent then went to the General Synod of Ulster, and the Presbytery of Antrim, received their endorsement, and collected in Ireland £500.†

Thus the three chief Presbyterian churches of Great Britain—English, Scotch, and Irish—united in rendering aid to the College of New Jersey, amounting in the aggregate to upwards of £4,000.‡ The Presbyterians of Great Britain showed their sympathy with the broad and tolerant Presbyterians of the Synod of New York, rather than the narrow and intolerant Presbyterians of the Synod of Philadelphia. The English Presbyterians at this time were opposed to subscription altogether; the Church of Scotland was in the hands of the "Moderates," and the Synod of Ulster was controlled by the liberal subscriptionists. The mother of American Presbyterian colleges was planted on the basis of the pledges of Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent as to the terms of subscription in accordance with the original Adopting Act. The college was therefore pledged and consecrated to a broad, generous, and liberal Presbyterianism.

Another fund of £357 4/6 was given

"for the education of such youth for the ministry of the Gospel, in the College of New Jersey, as are unable to defray the expenses of their education, who appear, upon proper examination, to be of promising genius, Calvinistic principles, and in the judgment of charity, experimentally acquainted with a work of saving grace, and to have a distinguished zeal for the glory of God, and salvation of men."

There can be no doubt that these gifts came from those who were in sympathy with Methodism. This little fund

* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 260.

† Davies, in *l. c.*, pp. 267, 275.

‡ Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 261.

was the beginning of that vast system of scholarships which has extended into the large number of Presbyterian colleges and theological seminaries which have been established since that time. The English, Irish, and Scotch Presbyterians from the earliest times had taken pains to provide such funds for the education of students for the ministry. Many of the fathers of American Presbyterianism were educated by the help of such funds in Great Britain, ere they came to America. It was clearly seen that the College of New Jersey could not accomplish its chief purpose of training up a pious ministry without such a scholarship fund for the aid of students.

Gilbert Tennent also received a fund of £200 for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. This fund was placed by the Synod in the hands of the trustees of the College of New Jersey,—

"Either towards the support of a pious and well qualified missionary in preaching the gospel among the Indians in North America, or the supporting of a pious and well qualified schoolmaster in teaching the Indians the English language, and the principles of natural and revealed religion; or for maintaining a pious and well qualified Indian youth at the College of New Jersey, while prosecuting his studies there, in order to his instructing his countrymen in the English language and the Christian religion, or preaching the gospel to them; or for maintaining a pious and well qualified youth of English or Scotch extract, at that college, during his preparatory studies for teaching or preaching the gospel among the Indians, in case an Indian youth of suitable qualifications, cannot at some particular time be obtained. With this express limitation, namely, that the Synod of New York, (or by whatever name that body shall, in time coming, be called,) shall direct and determine, to which of the uses before mentioned, the yearly interest of the aforesaid principal sum, shall be from time to time applied; and which of the candidates for that particular use shall be preferred; and how the overplus above what may reasonably answer the particular use at any time pitched on, (if any such overplus be,) shall be employed in providing Bibles or other good books, conducive to promote the general design." (*Records*, p. 269.)

VII.—INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING AMONG THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

In the meantime great interest had been excited in Great Britain and Holland in behalf of the German Reformed churches of Pennsylvania. In 1746 Michael Schlatter offered himself to the Synod of North and South Holland as a missionary agent to the German churches in Pennsylvania, to organize them, unite them, and establish regular correspondence with the classis of Amsterdam. At the time of his arrival there were 46 German churches in an unorganized and feeble condition, and 30,000 German Reformed people. October, 1746, he invited the four ordained ministers, Dorstius, Boehm, Weiss, and Reiger, to meet with him and organize a Coetus. This was accomplished September 29, 1747, and thirty-one ministers and elders were combined in the organization. Mr. Schlatter made a visit to Europe in 1751–2, and the Synod of North and South Holland was greatly aroused by his appeals. He secured six ministers to return with him to America, and collected large sums of money, and books. Twelve thousand pounds were raised as a fund in Holland, "the interest to be devoted to the support of ministers and schoolmasters in Pennsylvania."

David Thomson, pastor of the English Reformed Church of Amsterdam, became greatly interested in this cause. He visited Great Britain, and appealed to the Christian public in their behalf, and a fund of £20,000 was raised in England "for the maintenance of free schools among the Germans in America." May 21, 1752, the appeal of David Thomson was brought before the Church of Scotland. The matter was referred to a Committee, who introduced Mr. Thomson to the Assembly, and presented letters from "the Provincial Synod of

Holland, the Presbytery of Amsterdam, and the Consistory of the English Church there, all setting forth and enforcing the purpose of his petition and commissioning him to agent the same." The report of the Committee is an excellent summary of the state of the German churches in Pennsylvania at this time.*

The national collection of the Church of Scotland in this behalf was paid into the hands of the Society "to act as trustees for the management of the charity for the Protestants in Pennsylvania," on application of their representative, Dr. Chandler, of London, Secretary of the Society. The collection in Scotland was reported as amounting to £1,140 9/11. This grand combination of the Presbyterian strength of Europe to aid the German Reformed churches of Pennsylvania, so happily inaugurated by Mr. Schlatter and industriously advocated by David Thomson, resulting in the organization of the London Society, soon brought Mr. Schlatter into trouble in America. There was a strong opposition to the free schools, and the English instruction in them; race prejudice was excited, and Mr. Schlatter was driven from his superintendency by the Coetus in 1757.

The Dutch Reformed churches went through a severe internal struggle at this time. The Coetus was constituted in 1747, but it was in subordination to the classis of Amsterdam, and was so restricted in its powers as to become inefficient and unsatisfactory. Accordingly the more active and zealous ministers formed a classis in 1753, consisting of *eleven* ministers. But there were twenty-nine ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church in America; this organization divided them eventually into three parties.

The cause of the rupture was the organization of Kings College in New York City. This had the show

* See Appendix XXX.

of an undenominational institution, but of the ten trustees seven were Episcopalian (the weakest religious body in the colony), two Dutch Reformed, and one Presbyterian. William Livingston, the Presbyterian trustee, stoutly resisted it, but the Dutch senior pastor in New York was induced to favor it, in the hopes of a divinity professorship for the Dutch Church. But the great majority of the Dutch Reformed churches agreed with the Presbyterians in their opposition to the scheme. The organization of the classis was with a view to the establishment of a college by the Dutch Reformed churches. The action of Ritzema and his friends brought about a rupture of the Church. The Coetus declared its independence in 1755, and appointed Mr. Frelinghuysen, of Albany, to go to Holland and collect funds for the proposed college. He was encouraged by the success of Schlatter, but he was trammeled by a shattered church and by the differences between the Coetus and the classis of Amsterdam. Ritzema and his friends organized themselves into a *Conferentie*, composed at first of five ministers. They had increased their number to eight in 1758, but remained greatly in the minority. The two parties were sadly at war just at the time when the wounds of the Presbyterians were healing, and continued in strife after the reunion of Presbyterians had been consummated.

VIII.—THE GROWTH OF THE SYNODS FROM 1742 TO 1759.

During this period of separation, the Synod of New York grew with great rapidity. The evangelization of Virginia and Carolina greatly enlarged its area and the number of its churches and communicants. The congregations in the older communities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, had been blessed with oft-

repeated revivals. Their Methodist fervor and generous Presbyterianism attracted the sympathy of the kindred Puritan churches in New York colony which had not yet united with them.

April 9, 1747, the Presbytery of Suffolk was organized on Long Island, New York, by Ebenezer Prime, of Huntington, Samuel Buel, of Easthampton, Ebenezer White, of Bridgehampton, Nathaniel Mather, of Acqueboque, Ebenezer Gould, of Catchogue, and Sylvanus White, of Southampton.* These installed William Troop at Southold, Sept. 21, 1748. This Presbytery applied for admission to the Synod of New York, were received in 1749, and the ministers of the Presbytery of New York, on Long Island, were transferred to it. In 1752 the church at Rye, Westchester county, N. Y., with its pastor, John Smith, was received into the Presbytery of New York; and thus all the original Puritan churches of New York and New Jersey were combined in the Synod of New York, a body which at this time was the truest expression of Puritanism and Methodism.†

At the separation, the Synod of Philadelphia numbered 26 ministers, including those who were absent, and subsequently adhered to the side of the Protesters. They had all the advantages of historic succession, and the possession of the funds of the Church. But they rejected the principles of Methodism and its revival measures; they made no adequate provision for training a native ministry; they reacted into a barren ecclesiasticism and a traditional formalism; they set themselves in opposition to the active forces of the age; and they accordingly found it as difficult to secure fresh supplies of ministers as to enlarge their churches by converts. They lost ten of their number by death or removal during the separa-

* Webster, in *l. c.*, p. 253.

† See p. 272.

tion, and gained only fourteen new members. "Not a single one of these was a graduate of any American college."

But the Synod of New York, which gathered into itself the excluded members of the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and New Londonderry, and the mediating Presbytery of New York, amounting in all to 20 ministers, grew in the same period to 72 ministers. It lost only eight by death and received 79 new members, the majority of whom were graduates of Yale College and its own College of New Jersey, thus not only greatly outstripping the "old side," but also all the other religious denominations of the colonies.*

Elihu Spencer, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Jamaica, Long Island, writes to Dr. Stiles, Nov. 3, 1759, immediately after the Reunion, giving the following account of the strength of the Dissenting interest in the Middle colonies:†

			No. of Ministers.
I. PRESBYTERIANS—Hanover Presbytery,		Virginia,	14
	Donegal "	Maryland,	11
	Lewistown "	Pennsylvania,	6
	New Castle "	"	11
	Philadelphia "	"	12
	New Br'swick "	New Jersey,	11
	New York "		22
	Suffolk "	New York,	13
			100
II. DUTCH REFORMED in New York and New Jersey,			20
III. LUTHERAN in New York and Pennsylvania,			6
IV. FRENCH PROTESTANTS in New York,			2
V. INDEPENDENTS on Long Island, New York,			3
VI. BAPTISTS in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,			12
			43
VII. CHURCH OF ENGLAND in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania,			16

* E. H. Gillett, *American Presbyterian Review*, 1868, p. 435.

† *Mass. Hist. Society Collections*, II. Series, Vol. I., 1814, p. 156.

According to this representation the strength of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1759 was greater than that of all other Christian churches combined, in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Deducting from the 100, the 25 of Maryland and Virginia, it leaves 75 for these three colonies. The second denomination in strength was the Dutch Reformed with 20 ministers. If to these we add the two French Protestant ministers, we have a total of 97 of the Reformed type of doctrine and Presbyterian polity. It is clear, however, that Dr. Spencer leaves out of account the German Reformed Church, which had organized a Coetus in 1747, and was nearly as strong as the Dutch Reformed at this time, having not less than 20 ministers. Moreover, the Presbyterian ministers belonging to the Reformed and Associate Presbyteries must be taken into the account. There were at least five of these. This increases the ministers of the Presbyterian and Reformed type to 122. Over against them, according to Dr. Spencer, were 16 Episcopalians, 12 Baptists, 6 Lutherans, and 3 Independents. Allowing for the underrating of these other denominations of Christians, it is clear that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, at the middle of the eighteenth century, were overwhelmingly Presbyterian.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA: 1758–1775.

THE Presbyterians of the Synods of New York and Philadelphia remained separate until 1758, when they united in the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. During the entire period of separation continual efforts were put forth for re-union. The barriers to be removed were differences: (1) as to the principles and methods of Methodism; (2) as to the terms of subscription; (3) as to the nature of ecclesiastical discipline; and (4) the act of excision. The exciting occasions of the strife had passed away; the more aggressive spirits had been removed from the scene; the disorders which accompanied the early movements of Methodism had ceased; the zeal of the Tennents and their associates had cooled, and they were ready to confess that mistakes had been made: the Log College had passed out of existence, and the College of New Jersey had arisen in its place,—an institution of learning which satisfied all the requirements of both sides of the Presbyterian Church; the old side had failed in their efforts to erect a college; their opposition to Methodism had resulted in a stationary church, while the new side had increased to fourfold their numbers and influence; the old side had found it exceedingly difficult to secure ministers, either from the old world or the new, who would submit to their rigid subscription and stiff discipline; accordingly they were inclined to yield in these items, which placed them in isolation from the Presbyterian world, and threatened their Synod with

speedy death. The difficulties were at last happily adjusted, and the two Synods combined May 22, 1758, in Philadelphia, in a plan of union which was really a reaffirmation of the Adopting Act of 1729.*

I.—THE PLAN OF UNION.

The Plan of Union adjusted all the differences, and brought the two bodies into harmonious agreement.

(1) The differences as to Methodism were adjusted by the following agreement:

"This united Synod agree in declaring, that as all mankind are naturally dead in trespasses and sins an entire change of heart and life is necessary to make them meet for the service and enjoyment of God; that such a change can be only effected by the powerful operations of the Divine Spirit; that when sinners are made sensible of their lost condition and absolute inability to recover themselves, are enlightened in the knowledge of Christ and convinced of his ability and willingness to save, and upon gospel encouragements do choose him for their Saviour, and renouncing their own righteousness in point of merit, depend upon his imputed righteousness for their justification before God, and on his wisdom and strength for guidance and support; when upon these apprehensions and exercises their souls are comforted, notwithstanding all their past guilt, and rejoice in God through Jesus Christ; when they hate and bewail their sins of heart and life, delight in the laws of God without exception, reverently and diligently attend his ordinances, become humble and selfdenied, and make it the business of their lives to please and glorify God and to do good to their fellow men; this is to be acknowledged as a gracious work of God, even though it should be attended with unusual bodily commotions or some more exceptionable circumstances, by means of infirmity, temptations, or remaining corruptions; and wherever religious appearances are attended with the good effects above mentioned, we desire to rejoice in and thank God for them. But on the other hand, when persons seeming to be under a religious concern imagine that they have visions of the human nature of Jesus

* See Appendix XXXI. for the Plan of Union.

Christ, or hear voices or see external lights or have fainting and convulsion like fits, and on the account of these judge themselves to be truly converted, though they have not the Scriptural characters of a work of God above described, we believe such persons are under a dangerous delusion. And we testify our utter disapprobation of such a delusion, wherever it attends any religious appearances, in any church or time." (*Records*, p. 287.)

(2) The arbitrary Act of Excision of 1741 was removed by the declaration of the Synod of Philadelphia that

"They never judicially adopted the said protestation, nor do account it a Synodical act, but that it is to be considered as the act of those only who subscribed it."

(3) The different views as to discipline were harmonized by the agreement

"That when any matter is determined by a major vote, every member shall either actively concur with, or passively submit to, such determination; or if his conscience permit him to do neither, he shall, after sufficient liberty modestly to reason and remonstrate, peaceably withdraw from our communion without attempting to make any schism. Provided always, that this shall be understood to extend only to such determinations as the body shall judge indispensable in doctrine and Presbyterian government."

We see in the phrase "*indispensable in doctrine and Presbyterian government*" only a synonym of the "*essential and necessary articles*," and "*agreeable in substance to the Word of God*" of the Adopting Act of 1729.

(4) The difference as to subscription was harmonized in the declaration,—

"Both Synods having always approved and received the Westminster Confession of Faith and Larger and Shorter Catechisms as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, founded on the Word of God, we do still receive the same as the confession of our faith, and also adhere to the plan of worship,

government, and discipline contained in the Westminster Directory, strictly enjoining it on all our members and probationers for the ministry, that they preach and teach according to the form of sound words in said Confession and Catechisms, and avoid and oppose all errors contrary thereto."

The emphasized phrase "*orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine*" is only the language of the Adopting Act of 1729 "as *being in all the essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words, and systems of Christian doctrine*," in slightly different language. The system of Christian doctrine contained in the Westminster Standards was adopted, and this embraced only that which was "indispensable in doctrine or Presbyterian government," that which was "essential and necessary" to the Westminster system.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia fell back upon the Adopting Act of 1729, and declined to follow the strict views of subscription of the Synod of Philadelphia as expressed in the Declaratory Act of 1736.

The position of the Synod of New York was well expressed in their ultimatum in 1753:

"That difference in judgment should not oblige a dissenting member to withdraw from our communion, unless the matter were judged by the body to be essential in doctrine and discipline. And this, we must own is an important article with us, which we cannot any way dispense with; and it appears to us to be strictly Christian and Scriptural, as well as Presbyterian, otherwise we must make everything that appears plain duty to us a term of communion, which we apprehend the Scripture prohibits. And it appears plain to us that there may be many opinions relating to the great truths of religion that are not great themselves, nor of sufficient importance to be made terms of communion. Nor can these sentiments 'open a door to an unjustifiable latitude in principles and practices,' any more than the apostolic prohibition of receiving those that are weak to doubtful disputations. What is plain sin and plain duty in one's account, is not so in another's; and the Synod has still in their power to

judge what is essential and what is not. In order to prevent an unjustifiable latitude, we must not make terms of communion which Christ has not made, and we are convinced that He hath not made every truth and every duty a term." (*Records*, p. 254.)

The Synod of New York insisted upon these judicious views, until at last they were incorporated in the declaration of reunion, in the terms, "orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine," and "only such determinations as the body shall judge indispensable in doctrine or Presbyterial government."

There was a heresy trial in the Synod of New York which was not completed until the reunion. Samuel Harker was finally in 1763 declared disqualified to exercise the ministerial office:

"As he has departed from the truth, and opposed this Church in some important articles, and misrepresented the Church of Scotland, his doctrine and practice have a schismatical tendency." (*Records*, p. 330.)

Mr. Harker made a written Appeal to the Christian World against the Synod. John Blair, who had been familiar with the case from the beginning in the New Side Presbytery of New Brunswick, published a reply, giving a "New Side" view of the Adopting Act of 1729, which was regarded as still in force:

"He (Mr. Harker) would have it believed to be a violation of an Act of Synod, A.D. 1729, which he calls *one of the great Articles of their Union*, and which he thought *sufficiently secured the right of private judgment*, wherein it is provided that *a minister or candidate shall be admitted notwithstanding scruples respecting article or articles the Synod or Presbytery shall judge* not essential or necessary in DOCTRINE, WORSHIP, and GOVERNMENT. But in order to improve this to his purpose, he takes the words *essential or necessary* in a sense in which it is plain from the Act itself the Synod never intended they should be taken. He would have them to signify what is essential to 'Communion with Jesus Christ,' or the Being of Grace in the heart, and accordingly sup-

poses that no error can be essential which is not of such malignity as to exclude the advocate or maintainer of it from communion with Jesus Christ. But the Synod say essential in *Doctrine, Worship, and Government—i. e.*, essential to the system of doctrine contained in our *Westminster Confession of Faith* considered as a system, and to the mode of worship and plan of government contained in our Directory." (*The Synod of New York and Philadelphia Vindicated.* Philadelphia, 1765, pp. 10, 11.)

There can be no doubt that John Blair correctly interprets the Adopting Act of 1729, and also the views of the Reunion Synod of 1763:

"That, therefore, is an essential error in the Synod's sense, which is of such malignity as to subvert or greatly injure the system of doctrine and mode of worship and government contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Directory."

II.—MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES.

The Reunion was signalized by the establishment of a "Fund for the Relief of poor Presbyterian ministers and ministers' widows and children." The immediate occasion of this movement was the long and bloody French and Indian war, which caused great distress among the ministers laboring on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. In 1759 a charter was brought into the Synod and thankfully accepted. Messrs. Robert Cross, Gilbert Tennent, Francis Alison, Samuel Finley, Charles Beatty, John Blair, and Richard Treat were appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the regulation and management of the Fund, and "to move the corporation to appoint proper persons to take subscriptions that the matter may not be delayed a whole year longer."* Charles Beatty was sent to Great Britain as an agent of the cor-

* *Records*, p. 296.

poration, to solicit funds in its behalf. He appeared before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and, at his desire, a national collection was ordered, May 26, 1760, which soon amounted to £1,284.4/11. He also applied to the Associate (Burger) Synod for aid, and a collection was made in the bounds of that Synod amounting to £138.*

The Presbyterians of England and Ireland also contributed liberally to the cause.

In 1772, the attention of the Synod was called to the importance of distributing religious books. It is astonishing that American Presbyterians should have been so backward in this department of missions. The devout and energetic Dr. Bray, in 1698, had organized the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, to furnish Bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises to the destitute, and to erect parochial libraries in struggling churches.† This gave the Episcopal Church in America a great advantage, especially in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina. Moreover, the Presbyterians of Scotland, in 1709, had organized the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.‡ This Society was always ready to help the American Presbyterian Church, and would have rendered important assistance to the Synod if they had undertaken the distribution of a religious literature at an earlier date. But the American Presbyterians were absorbed in efforts to preach the gospel, and seem to have overlooked the important work of evangelization and religious culture which may be accomplished by the printed page. However, in 1773, committees were appointed in New York and Philadelphia, and each com-

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* See Appendix XXXII. for the Acts of these two Scottish Churches and the letters of acknowledgment from the Corporation.

† See p. 136.

‡ See p. 297.

mittee was allowed to draw upon the Synod's funds to the extent of £20 for this purpose.

The books specified for distribution were: Bibles, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, Vincent's *Catechism*, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion*, Alleine's *Alarm to the Unconverted*, Watts' *Divine Songs for Children*, and *A Compassionate Address to the Christian World*.*

The Synod continued to prosecute missions to the American Indians with the help of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. John Brainerd re-entered their service in 1759, and took charge of the mission at the Indian Reservation in Southern New Jersey.†

The converted Indians were enlisted in the colonial army; considerable numbers were slain, others were captured and never returned to their homes; many of those who tarried at home died of consumption and fevers, so that the settlement did not increase. The gospel was powerful in their conversion and consecration; but it was impossible to erect self-supporting churches among them.‡

In November, 1761, Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon, Conn., and David Bostwick, of New York, applied to the Society in Scotland for aid in mission work among the Oneida Indians, and recommended Mr. Samson Occom as a suitable missionary. The Society undertook to aid in the work to the amount of £20.§ In

* *Records*, pp. 428, 429, 441; E. H. Gillett, in *l. c.*, pp. 166–167.

† This land was purchased and secured for the Indians by the government of New Jersey, in accordance with a treaty by which they relinquished their claims to all other lands in the province. See p. 303.

‡ See Letter of John Brainerd in Sprague's *Annals*, III., pp. 151 *seq.*

§ Mr. Occom was an Indian of the Mohegan tribe; he was converted in 1741 in the Great Awakening when eighteen years of age; he became the first pupil of Mr. Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon, Conn.; was ordained by the

1763 Mr. Wheelock and his friends proposed to the Society to put his Indian school in charge of a corporation of thirteen persons, who should be appointed commissioners of the Society in Scotland. This proposition was accepted; and in 1766 Mr. Occom and Mr. Nathaniel Whitaker went to Great Britain, as agents of the school, to solicit funds for its enlargement and support. Mr. Occom was the first Indian preacher who had appeared in Great Britain; and he excited great interest in the cause, so that £10,000 were raised for this object.*

Mr. Occom, after his return, continued to labor among the Indians, especially on the Brotherton tract, in Oneida county, N. Y., until his death in 1792.†

In 1766 Messrs. Charles Beatty and George Duffield were, at the request of the Corporation of the Widows' Fund, sent as missionaries to the frontier of the province. They were accompanied by Joseph Peepy, a Christian Indian, as an interpreter. They reported to the Synod that:

"They visited the Indians at the chief town of the Delaware nation, on the Muskingum, about 130 miles beyond Fort Pitt, and were received much more cheerfully than they could have expected. That a considerable number of them waited on the preaching of the gospel with peculiar attention, many of them appearing solemnly concerned about the great matters of re-

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Presbytery of Suffolk, August 30, 1759, after some considerable success in preaching as a licentiate among the Indians of Long Island. (See Sprague, *Annals*, III., pp. 191 *seq.*)

* See Sprague, *Annals*, III., p. 193. We should judge that at least £2,000 were raised in Scotland, for on June 2, 1768, the Committee of the Society in Scotland reported to the Society "that the contributions already received for the support of the Rev. Mr. Wheelock's Indian Academy amount to £2,000 sterling, which sum they had lent out upon the personal securitys, the interest whereof at the rate of 5 per cent. is to be annually applied for the support of said Academy in such a manner as the Society shall judge most proper." (See *MS. Minutes.*)

† Sprague, *Annals*, in *l. c.*, III., p. 194.

ligion, that they expressed an earnest desire of having further opportunities of hearing those things; that they informed them, that several other tribes of Indians around them were ready to join with them in receiving the gospel, and earnestly desiring an opportunity. Upon the whole, that there does appear a very agreeable prospect of a door opening for the gospel being spread among these poor benighted savage tribes." *

In consequence of this favorable report, the Synod in 1767 appointed John Brainerd and Robert Cooper "to pay a visit to our frontier settlements and the Indians on Muskingum and other places, and tarry with them at least 3 months this summer, provided the report brought back by the Indian interpreter, Joseph, from them, and delivered to the Rev. Dr. Alison and Messrs. Treat, Beatty and Ewing proves encouraging." In 1768 Brainerd and Cooper reported that "they did not execute their mission" by "reason of the discouraging accounts brought in by the interpreter Joseph." The Synod then appointed a large Committee "to draw up and concert a general plan to propagate the gospel among these benighted people." The Committee reported that it was inexpedient as yet to enter on that important work.

Mr. Charles Beatty, while in Scotland in 1768, recommended the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge to appoint Commissioners in New Jersey and Pennsylvania to conduct missions to the Indians. Accordingly the Trustees of the College of New Jersey were appointed, with two additional ministers, in 1769. These engaged Mr. Kirkland, who labored among the Indians with considerable success.

In 1774 a representation from Dr. Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins was laid before the Synod, proposing

* *Records*, p. 375. See also Mr. Beatty's *Journal*, published by Arch. Alexander in his *Log College*, pp. 271 *seq*.

the sending of two natives of Africa, who had been converted to Christianity, "on a mission to propagate Christianity in their native country"; and requesting that the Synod would approve of the plan and give it their assistance. The Synod resolved:

"The Synod is very happy to have an opportunity to express their readiness to concur with and assist in a mission to the African tribes, and especially where so many circumstances concur as in the present case, to intimate that it is the will of God, and to encourage us to hope for success. We assure the gentlemen aforesaid, we are ready to do all that is proper for us in our station for their encouragement and assistance." (*Records*, p. 45.

In the same year Dr. Stiles and Mr. Hopkins wrote to the Society in Scotland, giving an account of these two negroes, representing that they were in the College of New Jersey preparing for a mission to Africa, stating that it was proposed to send them to the coast of Guinea when properly instructed, and intimating that there was a favorable opening in that place.

This promising mission to Africa, in which New England Congregationalists and American and Scotch Presbyterians were to co-operate, was unhappily prevented by the outbreak of the war of the American Revolution. The effort was earnest and well considered, and it shows the readiness of the American Presbyterian Church to engage in foreign mission work.

The missionary enterprises of the American Presbyterian Church were expanding far beyond the ability of the churches to conduct them. Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Education, Ministerial Relief, and Distribution of Religious Books were all in operation. The foundations were laid for those great Boards which are now the glory and pride of American Presbyterianism.

III.—GROWTH IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

The Reunion was soon followed by the erection of the Presbytery of Hanover, composed of Messrs. Alex. Craighead, Samuel Black, John Craig, Alexander Miller, Samuel Davies, John Todd, Robert Henry, John Wright, John Brown, and John Martin, in Virginia and southward, embracing ministers from both sides of the Church.* This frontier Presbytery became a centre of evangelistic work which extended into South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. It gave birth to the Presbytery of Orange in 1770, composed of Hugh McCadden, Henry Patillo, James Criswell, Joseph Alexander, Hezekiah J. Balch, and Hezekiah Balch of North Carolina.

The extension of the work of the Synod into South Carolina and Georgia brought its ministers into contact with the ministers of the Presbytery in South Carolina. This Presbytery in 1770 signified their desire to unite with the Synod, and requested to be informed of the terms of Union. The Synod replied that the only conditions were

"that all your ministers acknowledge and adopt as the standard of doctrine, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and the Directory as the plan of your worship and discipline. The Church of Scotland is considered by this Synod as their pattern in general; but we have not as yet expressly adopted, by resolution of Synod, or bound ourselves to any other of the standing laws or forms of the Church of Scotland, than those above mentioned, intending to lay down such rules for ourselves upon Presbyterian principles in general, as circumstances should from time to time show to be expedient." (*Records*, p. 409.)

We have already traced the history of Presbyterianism in South Carolina until the rupture in 1731.† In Charles-

* *Records*, p. 289; Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, II. Series, pp. 72 *seq.*

† See pp. 127 *seq.*

ton there were two Presbyterian churches, the English, whose minister was Josiah Smith, and the Scots, organized as a secession church in 1731. John Osgood became the successor of Hugh Fisher at Dorchester in 1734–5, but the church removed with its pastor to Midway, Georgia, in 1754.*

October 15, 1735, John McLeod, of the Isle of Skye, was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and sent over with the Highland colony to Darien, Georgia, under the auspices of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Gov. Oglethorp contributed £50 for the purpose. The colony became involved in the disastrous expedition against St. Augustine, and was virtually destroyed. McLeod in 1742 removed to Edisto Island, South Carolina, and settled there as pastor. He writes to the Society in Scotland, April, 1742: "that the Presbytery there consists of 6 ministers and they are sending calls to two more whom the people are to maintain and are to apply to this Society for two missionaries in respect the salary in Georgia is now vacant." †

In November, 1763, Alexander Hewatt arrived in Charleston from Scotland, and became pastor of the Scots church, where he remained until the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, when he returned to Scotland.‡ In 1760 William Richardson was dismissed from the Presbytery of New York to unite with the Presbytery of South Carolina. He was followed in 1768 by James Latta from the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and in 1770 by John Maltby from the Presbytery of New York.§ It was probably through the influence of these

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* E. H. Gillett, in *l. c.*, pp. 242 *seq.*

† *MS.* Minutes, S. P. C. K.

‡ Sprague, *Annals*, III., pp. 252 *seq.*

§ *Records*, pp. 307, 378; E. H. Gillett, in *l. c.*, I., p. 249.

ministers that efforts for union were made; but for some unknown reason they were not prosecuted by the Presbytery of South Carolina; so that the Presbyterians in this colony remained separate during the entire colonial period.

IV.—GROWTH IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

While the Synod of New York and Philadelphia was extending southward, it was also spreading westward and northward, and increasing its strength in the older settlements. In 1763 the Presbytery of Dutchess was received into the Synod, and it was enlarged by attaching to it John Smith and Chauncy Graham from the Presbytery of New York, and Samuel Sacket and Eliphalet Ball of the Presbytery of Suffolk, and it was given the name of Dutchess County Presbytery.* The reception of these churches and ministers into the Synod did not disturb the friendly relations with the consociated churches of Connecticut. But an effort was made for closer co-operation and union between the two bodies.

In 1766 an overture was brought into the Synod to obtain more correspondence between this Synod and the consociated churches in Connecticut, and Commissioners were appointed to meet Commissioners from the Connecticut churches.† The Convention was held at Elizabethtown, November 5, 1766, and "a plan of union" framed, which was submitted to the Synod in 1767, "seriously considered and amended," and Commissioners again appointed. The second Convention was held at New Haven, September 10, 1767. The amendments

* This Presbytery was organized by Elisha Kent, Solomon Mead, and Joseph Peck, October 27, 1762. They were pastors of churches organized among settlers who had removed chiefly from Connecticut. (*Early Presbyterianism to the East of the Hudson*, in *American Presbyterian Review*, 1868, p. 618.)

† *Records*, p. 364.

proposed by the Synod were accepted and the plan as amended adopted.* The Conventions were held annually alternately in the bounds of Connecticut and in the bounds of the Synod, and were productive of great good. Neither body encroached upon the other's territory, and the co-operation and harmony were complete until the close of the colonial period.

The Synod had difficulty in securing a sufficient number of ministers to supply the increasing churches, and yet it continued to raise the standard of ministerial education so far as was practicable.

In 1760 an overture was brought into Synod,

"That as a Professor of Divinity, to instruct youths for the sacred ministry, is much wanted, and highly necessary, the Synod would try to fall upon some measures to obtain one. And the Synod sensible of the need and importance of this, earnestly recommend the consideration of it to every Presbytery, that they may consult together how this may be accomplished, and endeavour to make the people under their care sensible of the importance of it: also, that they may be prepared and disposed to contribute to so good a design." (*Records*, p. 303.)

This action of the Synod seems to have had no immediate effect; but in 1768 a supplication was brought in from the Trustees of the College of N. J., praying assistance in supporting a Professor of Divinity "from the last year's collection." The Synod declined the application; but ordered a

"general collection to be made for this purpose, in all our congregations: and that the money raised by this separate collection be applied particularly by this Synod yearly, for this purpose till expended; and in the meantime in order to assist in supporting a Professor of Divinity in said college, the Synod do agree to give the present Professor the sum of fifty pounds out of the money now in the hands of our treasurer, to be refunded next year." (*Records*, p. 386.)

* See *Records*, p. 374.

Aug. 17, 1768, Dr. John Witherspoon was inaugurated president of the College of New Jersey. He was a man of power and influence in Scotland, and brought with him to the new world a considerable reputation. He was a great gain to the American Presbyterian Church, and exerted an important influence upon its destinies. He was appointed Professor of Divinity,* as well as president of the college, and also introduced the study of the Hebrew language. In 1772 a special professor of Hebrew was appointed, but he seems not to have entered upon his duties, and the department remained in charge of the President.†

Dr. John Rodgers represents that

"Almost the first benefit which it (the college) received, besides eclat and the accessions of students procured to it by the fame of his literary character was the augmentation of its funds. The college has never enjoyed any resources from the State. It was founded, and has been supported wholly by private liberality and zeal. And its finances, from a variety of causes were in a low and declining condition, at the period when Dr. Witherspoon arrived in America. But his reputation excited an uncommon liberality in the public; and his personal exertions, extended from Massachusetts to Virginia, soon raised its funds to a flourishing state. . . . . But the principal advantages it derived, were from his literature; his superintendency; his example as a happy model of good writing; and from the tone and taste which he gave to the literary pursuits of the college." (*Funeral Discourse* in *Works of John Witherspoon*, 2d edition, Philadelphia, 1802, I., pp. 29–30.)

Witherspoon also wrote an Address to the inhabitants of Jamaica and other West India Islands in behalf of the

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* His Lectures on Divinity were published in his collected *Works*, Vol. IV., pp. 9–123.

† See Sprague, *Annals*, III., pp. 292 *seq.* In 1769 the Synod "agreed to give the Trustees of the College of New Jersey toward supporting a Professor of Divinity in that institution 60 pounds for the last year, and 60 pounds for the current year out of the collections made in our congregations for this purpose, agreeable to an order of last session." (*Records*, p. 399.)

college in 1772, and sent it by Charles Beatty and his son, who went thither as agents under the direction of the Trustees. He pleads for it as a college which

"hath been conducted upon the most catholic principles. . . . . He is a passionate admirer of the equal and impartial support of every religious denomination which prevails in the northern colonies, and is perfect in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, to the unspeakable advantage of those happy and well constituted governments." (*Works*, Vol. IV., p. 202.)

In 1768 the Synod entered into correspondence with the Foreign Presbyterian Churches, and letters were written to the Church of Geneva, the Synod of North Holland, the Church of Switzerland, the Church of Scotland, the Synod of seceding ministers in Scotland, the ministers in and about London, the Synod of Ireland, the churches in South Carolina, and the ministers in and about Dublin.*

The strength of the Synod in 1769, according to its own official statement, was

"ten Presbyteries which contain from the accounts taken this year one hundred and twenty-seven ministers; besides these, there are about two hundred vacancies, that is to say, congregations or societys formed, altho not as yet having houses built for publick worship, and depending on this Synod for supply; a great number of these could support ministers singly, if they could procure them, and the rest by joining two or three together, and from the rapid population of the country, new societys are formed every year, and the old increase in number." (See Appendix XXXIII.)

The Synod were exceedingly anxious to receive able and pious ministers from Great Britain, but were constantly imposed upon by weak and scandalous men, who removed to America to escape from ecclesiastical censure

* *Records*, p. 386. The letter to the Church of Scotland is given in Appendix XXXIII.

in their own land. The Synod was greatly agitated in 1773 and 1774 by a dispute over the rights of Presbyteries and the authority of the Synod in this matter. The Synod was on the verge of the old difficulties of 1741, but a happy compromise was reached in an Act prepared by Dr. John Rodgers in 1774, which was unanimously adopted:

"They do most earnestly recommend it to all their Presbyteries to be very strict and careful respecting these matters, especially in examining the certificates and testimonials of ministers or probationers who come from foreign churches; and that they be very cautious about receiving them, unless the authenticity of their certificates and testimonials be supported by private letters or other credible and sufficient evidence; and in order more effectually to preserve this Synod, our Presbyteries, and congregations from imposition and abuse, every year when any Presbytery may report that they have received any ministers or probationers from foreign churches, that Presbytery shall lay before the Synod the testimonials, and all other certificates upon which they received such ministers or probationers, for the satisfaction of the Synod, before such foreign ministers or probationers shall be enrolled as members of our body; and if the Synod shall find the said testimonials false or insufficient, the whole proceedings had by the Presbytery in the admission shall be held to be void; and the Presbytery shall not from that time receive or acknowledge him as a member of this body, or in ministerial communion with us. And on the other hand, whenever any gentlemen from abroad shall come duly recommended as above, we will gladly receive them as brethren, and give them every encouragement in our power." (*Records*, pp. 455, 456.)

The strength of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution may be estimated as one hundred and thirty-two ministers, embraced in eleven Presbyteries.

V.—THE GROWTH OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

May 17, 1775, the Synod met in Philadelphia. Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker, of the Presbytery of Boston, was

present, and was invited to sit as a corresponding member. He asked aid for his church at Salem, Mass., and presented an earnest appeal from the Presbytery of Boston in its behalf.

Presbyterianism in New England had an eventful history from 1745 to 1775. The ministers excluded by the Presbytery of Londonderry in 1736* remained without Presbyterial organization until April 16, 1745, when Messrs. Moorehead, McGregorie, and Abercrombie constituted the Presbytery of Boston.† They received Jonathan Parsons, of Newbury, in 1748; ordained Alexander McDowell in 1753, a Mr. Burns, Samuel McClintock, and John Houston in 1757. They had grown into a body of twelve members in 1768.‡

Disputes between Mr. Abercrombie and his congregation began in 1748, and continued to disturb the Presbytery for several years until at last, on May 14, 1755, he declined the authority of the Presbytery, and was suspended from the ministry and his pastorate at Pelham, on the ground that "he refuses to retract or make satisfaction for the false and injurious things insinuated." He insisted that the Presbytery should apply the rules of discipline of the Church of Scotland to his case, but they declined and claimed the right, as an independent ecclesiastical body, to make their own rules. It was at this meeting of the Presbytery of Boston that the Presbytery of New York applied for D. McGregorie for the church in New York City.§ But McGregorie declined. He was needed to quiet the strife in the Presbytery of Boston more than to heal the

* See p. 229.

† See *Rejoinder to the Rev. Mr. Robert Abercrombie's late Remarks on a fair Narrative of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Boston against himself, &c.* By J. Parsons and D. McGregorie. Published by order of said Presbytery. Boston, 1758.

‡ Alex. Blaikie, in *l. c.*, p. 145.

§ See p. 282.

difficulties in the Presbyterian Church of New York City. Mr. Abercrombie published his statement in 1754,* and was answered by the order of Presbytery in 1756.† The question in dispute is thus presented:

"When after a series of events, by which the Presbyterial meetings had been interrupted for several years; we agreed to renew said meetings, in order thereunto, having endeavoured to ask divine direction and help by prayer and fasting in our respective congregations, having likewise consulted with the elders and people of our congregations, we did with their unanimous advice, and concurrence, actually meet and constitute as a classical Presbytery, and have continued to act as such, without interruption, for the space of about 13 years; that our formula of subscription contained in our Presbytery Book, binds us not only to the Westminster Confession of Faith & Catechisms; but to the Presbyterian Church Government & Discipline. To this formula all the ministers, and preachers belonging to the Presb., either have subscribed, or are under a solemn verbal engagement to subscribe, which engagement, they stand ready at any time to fulfil. But if Mr. Abercrombie say, that all this does not render us a Presbytery duly constituted; but that in order to our being so, we must adopt some particular body of church canons, or laws; that these are to be pleaded in our judicatures, in trials in the same manner that the Acts of Parl. are in civil courts; that we are not at liberty to adopt any of the Acts of the Church of Ireland, or France, or Geneva, or any other Presbyterian church, but are obliged to confine ourselves wholly to the church of Scotland; and even to her acts in such & such particular periods; exclusive of all other periods; that we have not an equal right by the great charter of Christians, with the church of Ireland or Scotland, or other sister churches, to make such

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* *An Account of the Proceedings of the Presbytery whereof the Rev. Mr. Moorehead, &c., are members against the Rev. Mr. Robert Abercrombie. In a letter to a friend.* Boston, 1754.

† *A Fair Narrative of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Boston against the Rev. Mr. Robert Abercrombie, late minister of the gospel at Pelham, together with some remarks in a pamphlet of his in form of a letter to a friend.* By John Moorehead, Jonathan Parsons, David McGregorie, Com. of Presbytery. Boston, 1756.

acts from time to time, for the regulation of our conduct, in our judicatures, as we judge agreeable to Presbyterian principles, founded on the Word of God—let him assert them plainly, and produce his arguments, that it may be seen—whose sentiments are most agreeable to Scripture and Reason, and to Presbyterian principles founded upon them." (*Fair Narrative*, pp. 34 *seq.*)

This statement is important as showing the spirit which animated the Presbytery of Boston. It felt that it was an independent ecclesiastical body, with the same rights and privileges as those possessed by the Presbyterian bodies of other lands and colonies.

The original Presbytery of Londonderry passed out of existence by the scattering of its ministers and its failure to increase.*

But June 27, 1771, John Murray,† of Boothby, Maine, united with Joseph Prince and John Miller in the erection of the "First Presbytery at the Eastward." They received Nathaniel Ewer in 1774, and in the same year sent a Committee to the Presbytery of Boston at Salem to express their readiness to unite with them in constituting a Synod. The Presbytery of Boston organized themselves into a Synod at Seabrook, New Hampshire, June 2, 1775, composed of three Presbyteries: Newburyport with six ministers; Londonderry with four; and Palmer with six; in all, 16 ministers and 25

* "The last reference to this judicatory appears in the Records of Dutchess Presbytery, Sept. 9, 1765, when the Rev. Samuel Dunlap, of Cherry Valley, was received as a member, the 'Presbytery to the eastward of Boston,' to which he belonged, 'being incapable of sitting by reason of the dispersion of its members.'" This is the statement of Webster (in *l. c.*, p. 253). But it was still in existence in 1771, when the Presbytery "at the Eastward" wrote to it about the erection of a Synod. (Blaikie, in *l. c.*, p. 149.)

† John Murray had been ordained a minister of the first Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1765, and installed pastor of the second church of Philadelphia. He was dismissed in good standing, but subsequently his dismission was recalled, and he was suspended and finally deposed. He disregarded these Presbyterial acts as illegal, and accepted a call to Boothby, Maine, where he was installed in August, 1766. (See Blaikie, in *l. c.*, p. 148.)

churches. They declined to receive the Presbytery at the Eastward.

There was an independent Presbytery of Grafton, New Hampshire, constituted at this time by Eleazar Wheelock and others. In 1774 Mr. Hutchinson petitioned the Presbytery of Boston for permission to organize a Presbytery of Dartmouth, and he was recommended to use his efforts to accomplish it. Messrs. Hutchinson and Gilmore were assigned to the Presbytery of Palmer, but did not appear in the Synod. It is probable that these two ministers united with Eleazar Wheelock and others in organizing the Presbytery of Grafton. The strength of Presbyterianism in New England at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution was one Synod of three Presbyteries and fourteen ministers, and two independent Presbyteries of several ministers each.

VI.—EFFORTS FOR UNION WITH THE SECEDERS.

In 1769 a Committee was appointed by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, at the request of several seceding ministers, "to converse with them, with a view to bring about an union betwixt them and this Synod."

The Associate Presbytery was strengthened in 1761 by the arrival of John Mason, who had been called to the pastorate of the Scots church in New York City, and William Annan, a probationer. But Alexander Gellatly died April 12, 1761, leaving but two members of the Presbytery, James Proudfoot and Matthew Henderson, to receive John Mason and William Annan. In 1764 they were joined by William Marshall and in 1766 by James Murdock.* John Mason at once became the leading mind among the Seceders in America, and turn-

* John McKerrow, *History of the Secession Church.* Revised edition. Edinburgh, 1845, I., pp. 297 *seq.*

ed their thoughts in the direction of union with other Presbyterian bodies.

In 1764 the Burger Presbytery of Down, in Ireland, sent over Thomas Clark to the province of New York, and in 1765 the Burger Synod received the following appeal from Philadelphia, dated Feb. 14:

—"setting forth the great prevalence of error in the doctrine, discipline and government of the church in that place; that many are complaining of the growing defections of the day; and tho' few have had the courage to join them in their present supplication for relief yet the petitioners express their firm expectation that had they an opportunity of hearing the precious doctrines of the gospel purely preached unto them, as some of the petitioners have heard these doctrines preached by the ministers of the Secession a large congregation would soon be gathered in that city, wherefore the Petitioners earnestly crave that the Synod may send over one of their number to labour in word and doctrine among them, for some time, in order to ripen them for obtaining the gospel in a fixed way; and further expressing their hopes, that such a mission would not only be attended with good effects as to themselves but happily it would thro' the divine blessing be a means of encouraging the whole province to follow their example in seeking after the gospel." (*MS. Minutes*, May 15, 1765.)

The Synod appointed Mr. Telfair to go, and authorized him to unite with Mr. Clark and constitute a Presbytery. Mr. Telfair sailed in the spring of 1766, with Mr. Kinloch. These did not deem it wise to constitute a Burger Presbytery, but united with the Anti-Burger Associate Presbytery which had been already established in Pennsylvania.*

This union in America was reported to the Anti-Burger Synod in 1767, but they refused to sanction it. The Burger Synod, however, made no objection, but continued to send missionaries. In 1768 they appointed

* McKerrow, in *l. c.*, pp. 539 *seq.*

Messrs. Edmund and Mitchell to go with Mr. David Telfair on his return to America, and under his direction, and, if the Presbytery of Pennsylvania absolutely refused to admit them, the Synod empowered them to constitute a Presbytery by themselves. They were received by the Associate Presbytery in Pennsylvania, and in 1769 the Burger Synod instructed their missionaries in Nova Scotia to respect that agreement and not to encroach upon the authority of the seceding Presbytery of Pennsylvania, "unless they should be obliged thereto by that Presbyterie's refusal to maintain the above mentioned articles of agreement, which they hope will not be the case."

This was the situation when the desire for union was brought before the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1769. In 1770 the Anti-Burger Synod sent Messrs. Roger and Ramsey with the injunction to the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania to erase from their records everything relating to their coalescence with the Burger brethren; and if this injunction should not be complied with, they were empowered, with others who might join them, to constitute a new Presbytery.

Thus two Presbyteries were constituted, the Presbytery of New York and the Presbytery of Pennsylvania, which contained 13 ministers at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution. Several years of conference between the Synod and the Associate Presbytery were fruitless. The union was doubtless prevented by the opposition of the mother Anti-Burger Synod in Scotland. In 1774 the Synod of New York and Philadelphia received a letter from William Marshall, clerk of the Associate Presbytery in Pennsylvania, "that for reasons which to them appear valid, they are not at present disposed to unite with this Synod."*

* *Records*, p. 460.

In 1774 a Reformed Presbytery was constituted by three ministers, Mr. Cuthbertson having been joined by Alexander Dobbin and Mr. Lind, from the Reformed Presbytery in Ireland.

VII.—THE REUNION OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

The question of education continued to divide the Dutch Reformed Church for many years. The *Conferentie* organized itself as an Assembly June 20, 1764, and continued to co-operate with the Episcopalians in the support of Kings College, New York City; but the Coetus earnestly sought to organize a college of its own, and obtained a charter for a Dutch academy, Nov. 10, 1766, from the government of New Jersey. The consistory of t e church of New York was neutral between the parties, notwithstanding the senior pastor, Ritzema, was the leader of the Assembly; the majority really sympathized with the Coetus.*

The reunion was accomplished through the wisdom and energy of John H. Livingston.† Livingston won the confidence of the Church of Holland, so that when he returned to become one of the pastors of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York City, he brought with him full powers from the mother church to heal the breaches. An effort had been made by Dr. Witherspoon to unite the Dutch Reformed Church with the Presbyterian in the support of the College of New Jersey. In 1768 this plan was approved by the Synod of North

* Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 54.

† Livingston was a descendant of the distinguished pastor of Ancrum (see p. 49), and of Robert Livingston, who removed from Holland to New York soon after his father's death in 1672. (Alex. Gunn, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Henry Livingston, D.D.* New edition, N. Y., 1856, p. 14.) His family is noted for its attachment to Presbyterianism and American Independence. (See p. 349.) He graduated from Yale College in 1762 and went to Holland to complete his education for the ministry in the Dutch Reformed Church.

Holland; but the divisions in the Reformed Church were unfavorable to union with the Presbyterians in this particular. The Assembly still clung to Kings College, and would not listen to the scheme. The Coetus gave it careful consideration, but did not see their way to adopt it. Accordingly the Coetus obtained a charter for Queens College March 20, 1770, which was soon after established at New Brunswick, N. J. Livingston arrived in New York September 3, 1770, and brought with him a plan of union. A union convention was held October 15, 1771; after some slight amendments the plan was adopted; it was subscribed by all the delegates at a second convention in 1772; and the Dutch Reformed Church was organized as a General Body with five particular bodies or classes, Albany, Hackensack, Kingston, New Brunswick, and New York, embracing in all about 100 churches and 34 ministers.*

The Dutch Reformed Church now rallied about Queens College. It was opened by a committee of trustees, amid the disorders of the American Revolution, and did not attain an efficient organization until the close of the war.†

The German Reformed Church continued to increase through the immigration of ministers and people. The Coetus at the outbreak of the American Revolution numbered some 25 ministers.

The strength of Presbyterianism in the American colonies which entered into the revolutionary struggle with Great Britain, in 1775, may be estimated as follows:

I. *British Presbyterians:*	Synods.	Presbyteries.	Ministers.
(1) Synod of New York and Philadelphia,	1	11	132
(2) Synod of New England,	1	3	32
The Presbytery at the Eastward,		1	
The Presbytery of Grafton,		1	

* Corwin, in *l. c.*, pp. 56–66.

† Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 83.

	Synods.	Presbyteries.	Ministers.
(3) Presbytery in South Carolina, . .		1	6
(4) The Associate Presbyteries, . . .		2	13
(5) The Reformed Presbytery, . .		1	3
Total *British Presbyterians*, . .	2	20	186
II. *The Reformed Churches:*			
(1) The Dutch Reformed Church, . .	1	5	34
(2) The German Reformed Church, .		1	25
(3) The French Reformed Church, . .			2
Total *Reformed*, ...	1	6	61

Total strength of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches was 3 general bodies, 26 presbyteries and classes, and about 247 ministers. The Presbyterians were vastly in the majority in the Middle colonies as were the Congregationalists in New England. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists combined had the ecclesiastical control of the American colonies. Upon their joint action the destinies of America depended. The Congregationalists were almost exclusively English, but the Presbyterians combined a number of nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, German, French, and Swiss, in the same Reformed system of doctrine and the same Presbyterian ecclesiastical polity. There were minor differences which prevented organic union, but there was essential union which displayed itself in the influence they were to exert upon the organization of an American republic. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia was considerably stronger than all the other Presbyterian bodies combined. It was a generous, tolerant, broad, and progressive Presbyterian Church, which, more than any other Church on the continent, was animated with the true American spirit, illustrating in its own unity amidst diversity the character of the American Republic which was about to be born.

CHAPTER IX.

PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE American Revolution was not only a political revolution for the sake of deliverance from the tyranny and oppression of the mother country, which had treated her children so cruelly and unnaturally that they could no longer endure her domination; but it was also a religious revolution. The English Government had permitted its governors to invade the religious rights and liberties of the people. The American people had sought refuge in the wilds of America in order to exercise their rights of conscience and worship God according to their convictions. The Puritans, the Covenanters, the Huguenots, the Scotch-Irish, and the German refugees from the Palatinate, and their children, had suffered so much from persecution for their religious principles, that they were naturally suspicious of the encroachments of the Church of England and the Tory governors upon their religious rights in the new world.

The Church of England, to the masses of the American people, was the Church of the oppressors of their fathers, and they had learned from childhood to fear its aggressions. The Episcopal Church in America was not strong in numbers, wealth, or influence, except in Virginia, where the old Puritan spirit was dominant in the people and clergy of the Episcopal Church itself. But the people of America knew that a vast power was behind this handful of ministers and people which might

be used in America, as it had been used in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to constrain the consciences of the people to religious conformity. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists were in constant fear lest an American bishop should be appointed; and the Presbyterians and Congregationalists united throughout the colonies in a combined and persistent effort to prevent what seemed to them a grave peril. It was not that they would deprive the American Episcopalians of the religious advantages of a bishopric, but that they knew that the introduction of prelacy into America would throw a vast political power into the scale against them, and that an effort would be made to establish the Church of England in all the colonies and treat all other Churches as dissenting.

"The non-episcopal denominations, therefore, in this country, had abundant cause for alarm. From South Carolina to New Hampshire, they saw the power and influence of the government exerted to give ascendency to the Episcopal Church. This object was constantly though cautiously pursued. It was natural it should be so. The arguments which were adduced to prove that the Church of England was entitled to this ascendency, were sufficiently plausible to command the assent of those who were anxious to be convinced. And the motives of policy in behalf of the measure, were sufficiently obvious to make all see that the English government would pursue it as far as it could be done with safety. Here as in the contest about taxation, it was not the pressure of the particular acts of injury or indignity that produced the dissatisfaction, but the power that was claimed. The assumption was the same in both cases, viz.: that America was part of the nation of England, that the power of the king and parliament was here what it was there. Hence on the one hand, the inference that the British parliament could here levy what taxes they pleased; and on the other, that the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters extended to the colonies. . . . . Before the Revolution the Episcopal Church, from its connection with the English government, and from its claim to be regarded as a branch of a great national establishment, was justly an

object of apprehension. And this apprehension was confirmed and deepened by a long series of encroachments on the rights of other denominations. After the Revolution, that church ceased to be the Church of England, and became the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Since she has taken her stand on equal terms with sister churches, she is the object of no other feelings than respect and love, wherever she consents to acknowledge that equality." (Hodge, in *l. c.*, pp. 388 *seq.*)

The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists of America no longer sought the civil establishment of their systems of church government. They had advanced to a higher conception of the principles of religious toleration. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia embraced Presbyterian churches in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina there were no hindrances to the progress of Presbyterianism; but in New York, Virginia, and South Carolina there had been an intense struggle with Episcopacy and the Tory governors.*

New York was the chief battle-ground; for there Presbyterianism was so strong and so ancient that its rights were clear, and these were maintained with invincible arguments against a bold and unscrupulous opposition. This battle enlisted the sympathies of the entire body of Presbyterians in America.

"During the quarter of a century immediately preceding the Revolution, a discussion of the whole subject of religious rights, important for its effect upon the popular mind, as well as for the ability displayed in its prosecution, was conducted through the public press by the leading men of the Presbyterian Church in New York. Three of these were eminent lawyers. A fourth was the young pastor of the Wall Street Church, Alexander Cumming, whose spirited appeals and cogent arguments contributed not a little to the force and weight of the pamphlet and

* See pp. 143 *seq.*

newspaper publications of the day. But the names of his parishioners, William Smith, William Livingston, John Morin Scott, are better known in connection with this debate. The battle for religious liberty was well fought, at a time when the great struggle for civil freedom was beginning, by 'the Presbyterian lawyers' of New York; and not only for their own religious communion, but equally for other Christian bodies. It is certainly to the credit of these advocates of the rights of conscience, that representing a Church which in Great Britain was a Church by law established—one of 'the two Communions' in alliance with the State, the National Church of Scotland—they pleaded the common cause of the Protestant denominations not conforming to the Church of England. By the prominent part they took in this controversy, as well as by their activity in the political discussions of the day, Livingston and his associates incurred suspicion and odium as dangerous men. But their arguments and appeals carried the judgment and the sympathies of the people. The partisans of a Church Establishment were no match for the men who stood forth in defence of the rights of conscience and the freedom of the land from an oppressive ecclesiastical rule." (C. W. Baird, *Civil Status of the Presbyterians in the Province of New York* in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1879, pp. 620–621.)

I.—THE PRESBYTERIANS ENGAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

The Presbyterians of America were the earliest and the staunchest friends of the Independence of the American colonies. The Scotch-Irish on the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolinia, in the Presbyteries of Hanover and Orange, were the first to advance to a declaration of independence of the mother country. The struggles against the government of Virginia for their religious rights had prepared them for this issue.*

The Scotch-Irish met in council at Abingdon, Jan. 20, 1775, and prepared an address to the Delegates of Virginia, in which they said:

* See pp. 296 *seq.*

"We explored our uncultivated wilderness, bordering on many nations of savages, and surrounded by mountains almost inaccessible to any but these savages; but even to these remote regions the hand of power hath pursued us, to strip us of that liberty and property with which God, nature, and the rights of humanity have vested us. We are willing to contribute all in our power, if applied to constitutionally, but cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to a venal British parliament or a corrupt ministry. We are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender any of our inestimable privileges to any power upon earth but at the expense of our lives. These are our real though unpolished sentiments of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die." (Bancroft, in *l. c.*, IV., p. 100.)

The Scotch-Irish of Mecklenburg county, in Western North Carolina, took a still bolder position. May 20, 1775, they assembled in convention and unanimously resolved:

"1. *Resolved*, That whosoever, directly or indirectly, abetted, or in any way, form or manner countenanced, the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

"2. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

"3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation and our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor." (W. P. Breed, *Presbyterians ana the Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 72 *seq.;* Bancroft, in *l. c.*, IV., pp. 196 *seq.;* Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 33 *seq.*)

The Presbyterians of New York, New Jersey, and

Pennsylvania were not so swift in action, but by deliberation reached the same goal:

"The settlers in New York from New England, and the mechanics of the city were almost to a man enthusiasts for resistance. The landed aristocracy was divided; but the Dutch and the Scotch Presbyterians, especially Schuyler of Albany and the aged Livingston of Rhinebeck, never hesitated to risk their estates in the cause of inherited freedom." (Bancroft, in *l. c.*, IV., p. 130.)

In New Jersey, William Livingston, the distinguished lawyer; John Witherspoon, the President of the College of New Jersey; Jacob Green, James Caldwell, and the Presbyterians and Reformed in a body, decided upon the struggle for liberty. The Presbyterians of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and throughout the colonies arose as one man for the rights and liberties of America. The Highlanders of the Valley of the Mohawk in the colony of New York, and on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, seem to have been the only sections of the Presbyterian population which took a stand against the rights of the colonies.*

However, there were two Presbyterian ministers in New England who went over to the British lines; but one of these was deposed from the ministry and the other was suspended.†

The great body of American Presbyterians hesitated about breaking altogether with the mother country; they made the distinction between the ministry and the crown, and strove to maintain their allegiance to the monarch while throwing off the yoke of his ministers. This is manifest in the Pastoral Letter of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, May 20, 1775:

"First. In carrying on this important struggle, let every opportunity be taken to express your attachment and respect to

* Bancroft, in *l. c.*, pp. 311, 390 *seq.*

† Blaikie, in *l. c.*, pp. 171 *seq.*

our Sovereign King George, and to the revolution principles by which his august family was seated on the British throne. We recommend, indeed, not only allegiance to him from duty and principle, as the first magistrate of the empire, but esteem and reverence for the person of the prince, who has merited well of his subjects on many accounts, and who has probably been misled into the late and present measures by those about him; neither have we any doubt that they themselves have been in a great degree deceived by false information from interested persons residing in America. It gives us the greatest pleasure to say, from our own certain knowledge of all belonging to our communion, and from the best means of information, of the far greatest part of all denominations in this country, that the present opposition to the measures of administration does not in the least arise from disaffection to the king, or a desire of separation from the parent state. We are happy in being able with truth to affirm, that no part of America would either have approved or permitted such insults as have been offered to the sovereign in Great Britain. We exhort you, therefore, to continue in the same disposition, and not to suffer oppression, or injury itself, easily to provoke you to any thing which may seem to betray contrary sentiments: let it ever appear, that you only desire the preservation and security of those rights which belong to you as freemen and Britons, and that reconciliation upon these terms is your most ardent desire.

"Secondly. Be careful to maintain the union which at present subsists through all the colonies; nothing can be more manifest than that the success of every measure depends on its being inviolably preserved, and therefore, we hope that you will leave nothing undone which can promote that end. In particular, as the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia, consists of delegates chosen in the most free and unbiassed manner, by the body of the people, let them not only be treated with respect, and encouraged in their difficult service—not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings—but adhere firmly to their resolutions; and let it be seen that they are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution. We would also advise for the same purpose, that a spirit of candour, charity, and mutual esteem, be preserved and promoted towards those of different religious denominations. Persons of probity and principle of

every profession, should be united together as servants of the same master, and the experience of our happy concord hitherto in a state of liberty should engage all to unite in support of the common interest; for there is no example in history in which civil liberty was destroyed, and the rights of conscience preserved entire." (*Records*, pp. 467–468.)

But in a few months it became clear that there must be a final separation from the mother country, and the venerable John Witherspoon, the only clergyman in the Continental Congress in 1776, gave the Presbyterian voice for the Declaration of Independence:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which ensures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this house. He that will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of freeman. . . . . For my own part, of property I have some, of reputation more. That reputation is staked, that property is pledged, on the issue of this contest; and although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather that they descend thither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country." (Breed, in *l. c.*, p. 166; Thomas Smythe, *Presbyterians in the Revolution, etc.*, p. 31.)

The unanimity of Presbyterians in the struggle for independence was recognized by their foes.

The Rev. Mr. Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, N. Y., writes October 31, 1776:

"Although civil liberty was the ostensible object, the bait that was flung out to catch the populace at large and engage them in the rebellion, yet it is now past all doubt that an abolition of the Church of England was one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct; and hence the unanimity of the dissenters in this business. . . . . I have it from good authority that the Presbyterian ministers, at a Synod where most of them in the middle colonies were collected, passed a resolve to support

the Continental Congress in all their measures. This, and this only, can account for the uniformity of their conduct; for I do not know one of them, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any, who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of the Congress, however extravagant." (*Documentary History of New York*, III., pp. 1050–51; Hawkins, *Historical Notices*, pp. 328–329.)

II.—THE PRESBYTERIAN GAIN AND LOSS BY THE REVOLUTION.

The Presbyterian Church suffered severely by the war of Independence; its ministers and elders went into the struggle for constitutional liberty with all their strength; churches were destroyed, ministers and elders were slain, congregations were scattered, vital religion was neglected, and morality was weakened. The leading ministers took an active part in the struggle. Dr. Witherspoon was an influential member of the Continental Congress, and Dr. George Duffield was one of the two chaplains. Dr. John Rodgers, of New York, was chaplain of Heath's brigade; James Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, of the New Jersey brigade; Alexander McWhorter, of Knox's brigade; James F. Armstrong, of the Second Maryland brigade; Adam Boyd, of the North Carolina brigade; Daniel McCall, of the expedition to Canada. Jacob Green was a member of the congress of New Jersey; Henry Patillo, of North Carolina; William Tennent, of South Carolina; John Murray, of Massachusetts;* David Caldwell was a member of the convention of North Carolina of 1776, which drew up its constitution; Abraham Kettletas, of the convention of New York. James Hall, of Iredell, North Carolina, was captain of a cavalry company, as well as chaplain of a regiment.†

* Gillett, in *l. c.*, I., pp. 186 *seq.*; Breed, in *l. c.*, pp. 91 *seq.*; Blaikie, in *l. c.*, pp. 175 *seq.*; Foote, *Sketches North Carolina*, p. 217.

† Foote, in *l. c.*, pp. 315 *seq.*

Dr. Thomas Smythe gives us a careful statement of the activity of Presbyterian elders in the war of Independence, in the province of South Carolina:

"The battles of the 'Cowpens,' of 'King's Mountain,'—and also the severe skirmish known as 'Huck's Defeat,' are among the most celebrated in this State as giving a turning-point to the contests of the Revolution. General Morgan, who commanded at the Cowpens, was a Presbyterian elder, and lived and died in the communion of the church. General Pickens, who made all the arrangements for the battle, was also a Presbyterian elder, and nearly all under their command were Presbyterians. In the battle of King's Mountain Colonel Campbell, Colonel James Williams (who fell in action), Colonel Cleaveland, Colonel Shelby and Colonel Sevier, were all Presbyterian elders; and the body of their troops were collected from Presbyterian settlements. At Huck's Defeat, in York, Colonel Bratton and Major Dickson were both elders in the Presbyterian Church. Major Samuel Morrow, who was with Colonel Sumpter in four engagements, and at King's Mountain, Blackstock, and other battles, and whose home was in the army till the termination of hostilities, was for about fifty years a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church. . . . . It may also be mentioned in this connection that Marion, Huger and other distinguished men of Revolutionary memory, were of Huguenot—that is, of full-blooded Presbyterian descent." (Thomas Smythe, *Presbyterianism, the Revolution, the Declaration and the Constitution*, pp. 32 *seq.*)

South Carolina was in this respect but a sample of all the colonies. The Dutch Reformed Church was equally patriotic.

"During the mighty struggle the Reformed Dutch Church was in hearty sympathy with the cause of freedom. Her pulpits 'rang with stirring appeals, which roused the patriotic ardor and inspired the martial courage of the people.' The scene of the war was chiefly on the territory of the Dutch Church, and not a few of her church buildings were destroyed, and her ministers were often driven from their homes. The Church memorialized the Legislature of New York in 1780, speaking of the present JUST AND NECESSARY WAR. At its close, Dominie Rubel was

deposed for certain immoralities and for his *Toryism*. The mere mention of the names of Schuneman, Hardenbergh, Foering, Romeyn, Livingston, Westerlo, Du Bois, Leydt, and many others in the ministry, at once suggests the stories of their patriotism." (Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 66.)

The struggle for Independence involved a religious struggle to which Presbyterianism was committed from the start, and for which it was resolved to make every sacrifice. The sacrifices were great, but the reward was vastly greater, for the spirit of the conflict animated American Presbyterianism with new vigor, so that it became pre-eminently the Church of Constitutional government and orderly liberty. The ecclesiastical polity of the Presbyterian Churches influenced the government of the State, and the government of the American Presbyterian Churches was in no slight degree assimilated to the civil government of the country.

The independence of the colonies carried with it the separation of the Church from the State. The Presbyterians of America had risen to this height. There were fears and anxieties on the part of the weaker sects at the close of the struggle for Independence, lest the Presbyterians should take advantage of their pre-eminence, and make the Presbyterian Church the established church of the Middle colonies. But this suspicion was removed by the action of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1783.

"It having been represented to Synod, that the Presbyterian Church suffers greatly in the opinion of other denominations, from an apprehension that they hold intolerant principles, the Synod do solemnly and publickly declare, that they ever have, and still do renounce and abhor the principles of intolerance; and we do believe that every member of civil society ought to be protected in the full and free exercise of their religion." (*Records*, p. 499.)

The Reformed Churches were in entire sympathy with this position. The American Presbyterians had advanced to a doctrine of toleration beyond anything recognized elsewhere in the world; to the mutual recognition of the rights of all men to the full and free exercise of their religion under the protection, but not under the control or direction of the civil government. The doctrine of the separation of Church and State was inscribed upon the banners of American Presbyterianism.

"For more than two centuries the humbler Protestant sects had sent up the cry to heaven for freedom to worship God. To the panting for this freedom half the American States owed their existence, and all but one or two their increase in free population. The immense majority of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies, were Protestant dissenters; and, from end to end of their continent, from the rivers of Maine and the hills of New Hampshire to the mountain valleys of Tennessee and the borders of Georgia, one voice called to the other, that there should be no connection of the church with the state, no establishment of any one form of religion by the civil power; that 'all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understandings.' With this great idea the colonies had travailed for a century and a half; and now, not as revolutionary, not as destructive, but simply as giving utterance to the thought of the nation, the States stood up in succession, in the presence of one another and before God and the world, to bear their witness in favor of restoring independence to conscience and the mind." (Bancroft, in *l. c.*, V., p. 120.)

The recognition of the independence of the American colonies, which was achieved after a long, bloody, and exhausting war, was followed by an internal political contest as to the form of government which the colonies should assume. The American colonies had been independent of one another, with their only unity in their common attachment to the mother country. They had been compacted together by the sufferings and the triumphs of the war of independence; they were obliged to search

their way to a plan of government which would give them sufficient unity without infringing upon the liberties of the individual colonies. The choice was to be made between a confederation of independent States, and a constitutional republic. The American colonies advanced in a few years through the confederation to the republic. These discussions as to the civil government of the American colonies were influenced in no small measure by the ecclesiastical governments with which its citizens were most familiar.

The choice between a confederacy and a republic was very much the same as a choice between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism; for Congregationalism is a confederacy of independent churches, but Presbyterianism is an organized representative and constitutional government. The Presbyterian form of government was familiar to the great mass of the inhabitants of the Middle and Southern colonies; it was the form of government which Puritan Episcopacy has ever preferred. The Congregationalism of Connecticut and of other parts of New England tended in the same direction. There is no reason to doubt that Presbyterianism influenced the framers of the Constitution in their efforts to erect a national organism,—a constitutional republic. But Congregationalism also had its influence in defining the limitations of the supremacy of the general government and in the reservation of the sovereignty of the States in all those affairs which were not assigned to the general government. It is true, Presbyterianism was prepared for such limitations by the Scotch Barrier Act of 1697, which prevented hasty legislation by an appeal to all the Presbyteries of the Church; and still more by the persistent resistance of American Presbyterianism to any legislative power in the Synod, without the consent of the Presbyteries.* But the limitations of

* See pp. 209, 245.

the general government in the American Constitution were beyond anything known to Presbyterianism before, and the reserved rights of the States were vastly in excess of any rights ever claimed or exercised by Presbyteries. The American form of civil government was a happy combination of some of the best features presented in Presbyterianism and in Congregationalism.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1783 issued their pastoral letter, in which they say:

"We cannot help congratulating you on the general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind. This has been visible in their conduct, and has been confessed by the complaints and resentment of the common enemy. Such a circumstance ought not only to afford us satisfaction on the review, as bringing credit to the body in general, but to increase our gratitude to God, for the happy issue of the war. Had it been unsuccessful, we must have drunk deeply of the cup of suffering. Our burnt and wasted churches, and our plundered dwellings, in such places as fell under the power of our adversaries, are but an earnest of what we must have suffered, had they finally prevailed. The Synod, therefore, request you to render thanks to Almighty God, for all his mercies, spiritual and temporal, and in a particular manner for establishing the Independence of the United States of America."

III.—EFFORTS TO UNITE THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES.

The war of Independence having been brought to a successful conclusion, the minds of men were directed to reconstruction and reunion in Church as well as in State. John Mason, of the Scotch Church of New York City, was the leader in this movement. He wrote to a friend in Scotland in 1775 with reference to the controversy between the Burgers and Anti-Burgers, and called it "the dry, the fruitless, the disgracing, the pernicious controversy about the burgess oath," and said:

"This controversy has done infinite injury to the cause of God in Scotland, and wherever it has shed its malignant influences. For my own part, I cannot reflect upon it without shame and perplexity. Though we differ only about the meaning of some burgess-oaths and some acts of parliament, our mutual opposition has been as fierce as probably it would have been had we differed about the most important points of Christianity. The infatuation we have fallen into will amaze posterity." (McKerrow, in *l. c.*, p. 314.)

Through his influence the two Associate Presbyteries united with the Reformed Presbytery in constituting the Associate Reformed Synod, November 1, 1782, composed of three Presbyteries, Pennsylvania, New York, and Londonderry. There were several dissenting ministers who by the aid of fresh supplies of ministers from Scotland were enabled to perpetuate the Anti-Burger and the Reformed Presbyterian bodies. In 1798 the Reformed Presbytery of North America was constituted. Messrs. Marshall and Clarkson, of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, refused to unite with the Synod, and claimed, with three elders who adhered to them, to be the Presbytery. They were strengthened by Mr. Thomas Beveridge in 1783.*

The Associate Reformed Synod at once absorbed all that was left of the Presbyterianism of New England. The Synod of New England was weakened by the death of several of its most eminent ministers, and by the withdrawal of a number of ministers and churches which were dissatisfied with its discipline, so that September 12, 1782, the Synod was dissolved, and its members constituted themselves the Presbytery of Salem. They endeavored to form a union with the Presbytery of Grafton, but failed; and they declined to unite with the Presbytery at the Eastward.† The Presbytery of Salem

* McKerrow, in *l. c.*, p. 334.

† Blaikie, in *l. c.*, p. 204.

continued to dwindle until September 14, 1791, when it adjourned *sine die.**

The Presbytery at the Eastward continued in correspondence with the Presbytery of Grafton. A Synodical Convention was held at Dartmouth College, August 23, 1792, to effect a union of these two Presbyteries with the Associate Reformed Presbytery, but without result. March 13, 1793, John Murray, who was the master spirit of the Presbytery at the Eastward, died, and October 25, 1793, it agreed to a union with the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Londonderry, and became merged in it.† The Presbytery of Grafton soon afterwards passed out of existence.

In 1785 the Synod of New York and Philadelphia were informed

"that some of the brethren of the Dutch Synod, and one of the members of the Associate Reformed Synod had expressed a desire of some measures being taken for promoting a friendly intercourse between the three Synods or laying a plan for some kind of union among them, whereby they might be enabled to unite their interests, and combine their efforts, for promoting the great cause of truth and vital religion; and at the same time giving it as their judgment, that such plan was practicable: the Synod were happy in finding such a disposition in the brethren of the above Synods, and cheerfully concur with them in thinking that such a measure is both desirable and practicable, and therefore appoint Drs. Witherspoon, Jones, Rodgers, McWhorter, Smith, Messrs. Martin, Duffield, Alexander Miller, Israel Read, John Woodhull, and Nathan Kerr, a committee to meet with such committees as may be appointed by the Low Dutch Synod now sitting in New York, and by the Associate Synod to meet in that city next week, at such time and place as may be agreed upon, to confer with the brethren of said Synods on this important subject, and to concert such measures with them for the accomplishment of these great ends as they shall judge expedient, and report the same to the next meeting of this Synod."

* Blaikie, in *l. c.*, pp. 216 *seq.*

† Blaikie, in *l. c.*, pp. 247, 255, 273, 293 *seq.*

There were several favorable circumstances which rendered a union of some sort practicable. Three distinguished divines—John Mason, J. H. Livingston, and John Rodgers—represented the three denominations in the churches of New York City, and were in entire accord with one another. John Mason had already accomplished a great task in combining the Reformed, the Anti-Burgers, and the Burgers into one Synod. He had a taste of reunion, and he was desirous of more of it. Dr. Livingston was more cautious. In a letter to Dr. Westerlo, December 22, 1783, he had said:

"Our correspondence with our mother churches in Holland, and the possibility of being increased by emigrations from thence, should at least incline us to remain as pure and unsuspected of any mixture as possible—unless some generous and proper plan, formed by a genius equal to the task, should be drawn for uniting all the Reformed Churches in America into one national church—which notwithstanding the seeming difficulties in the way, I humbly apprehend will be practicable and, consistent with the outlines drawn by Professor Witsius for King William the Third, I yet hope to see accomplished." (Alexander Gunn, *Memoirs of J. H. Livingston*, p. 159.)

In October, 1784, Dr. Livingston was chosen Professor of Theology of the Dutch Reformed Church, and he delivered his inaugural May 19, 1785, in the old Dutch Church in New York City. He continued to be professor and pastor in New York until 1810, when he removed to New Brunswick, N. J.

Efforts had been made to secure the abandonment of the college at New Brunswick and a union with Princeton. Dr. Livingston's plan, in 1683,† was that a Divinity Hall should be erected at New Brunswick, and that the Presbyterians and the Reformed should unite in the support of the college at Princeton and the Divinity School

* Corwin, in *l. c.*, p. 106.

† Gunn, in *l. c.*, pp. 156 *seq.*

at New Brunswick. This was an excellent scheme, and, if it had been carried out, the two denominations would have attained organic union in a few years, but local and denominational prejudices prevented its accomplishment. The union conference was held in New York in October, 1785, and it was finally agreed to unite in a biennial convention whose

"powers shall be merely of counsel and advice, and that it shall on no account possess judiciary or executive authority, and every subject that shall come regularly before the convention, shall after being properly digested, be referred to the respective Synods, together with the opinion of the convention, and the reasons on which it is founded, for their judiciary and ultimate decision." (*Records*, p. 521.)

The first convention was held in New York in the autumn of 1786.

In 1788 the Dutch Reformed Church appointed a Committee to translate and publish the symbols of the Church. After careful revision these were adopted as the Constitution of the Church in 1792, and in 1794 the General Synod was organized with five classes.

In this same year they resolved:

"As a friendly correspondence with sister churches will doubtless conduce to strengthen and establish the cause of religion, the General Synod sincerely wish to open such a correspondence and prosecute it to a union with the Reformed German Churches of Pennsylvania; for which purpose the Synod have thought proper to appoint a committee, whose business it shall be to take the earliest, and, if possible, the most effectual measures to bring so desirable a thing into effect; that this committee be the Rev. Dr. Livingston and the Rev. Messrs. Solomon Fröligh, Peter Stryker, and C. A. Peik, who will gladly embrace the opportunities which may offer in providence for pursuing the same; and that any three of them be a quorum to transact this business. The Synod further declare their earnest desire that the earliest opportunity be taken to revive the friendly correspondence entered into with the Presbyterian and Associate Reformed Churches in America." (*Minutes of General Synod*, I., p. 258.)

At the close of the century the Synod report 139 congregations, 59 ministers, and 5 candidates.

The German Reformed Church adopted a Constitution in 1793, having some 150 churches, but only 22 ordained ministers.

IV.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The American Presbyterian Church continued to grow with great rapidity after the Revolution. It was spread over a large territory from New York to Georgia; and it was simply impossible for all the ministers, or even a majority of them, to meet together in the annual Synod. A system of representation was rendered necessary. This might have been accomplished by changing the Synod into a representative body; but it was preferred to use the Synod as a larger Presbytery in which all the ministers residing in a section of the country might assemble, and to organize a representative General Assembly. The American Presbyterian Church, under the influence of Dr. Witherspoon, was tending strongly towards the methods of government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

This tendency was offensive to quite a number of the American ministers, who were jealous of ecclesiastical domination. Several of these claimed the privileges of the *Plan of Union*,* and peaceably withdrew from the Synod. The leader in this movement was Jacob Green, of Hanover, New Jersey.

"His exceptions were directed against the exercise of power by the Synod, according to 'the Directory of Church Government authorized by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.' 'They assumed,' he said, 'the authoritative enacting style in their minutes, appointing and requiring, instead of recommending and desiring.' They moreover assumed a 'legislative

* See p. 318.

power,' 'appointed ministers and candidates to travel to distant parts, supply vacancies, &c,'—had '*ordered*—not *desired*—contributions,'—had claimed a power to liberate ministers from their people, against the will of the latter,—as, for instance, 'several presidents for the college.' They had required candidates to study a year after taking their degree,—had ordered licentiates to write their notes at large and show them to some minister,—had enjoined the keeping of registers of births, baptisms, marriages, and burials,—had also *enjoined* ministers not to use notes in preaching; and, in the union of the two Synods, the Westminster Confession 'without any liberty for explanation in any article, was *enjoined* upon all their ministers, who were to teach and preach accordingly.'" (E. H. Gillett, in *l. c.*, p. 209.)

These representations are certainly overdrawn; they show the straining of a dissatisfied man to make up a case by heaping up a mass of miscellaneous complaints. Yet there was an underlying grievance in the tendency to greater strictness and imperiousness in the exercise of government and discipline on the part of the Synod; and especially in the rules for candidates, which, in the judgment of Jacob Green, and his associates, hindered the training of a godly ministry and prevented the more rapid increase of the church. Accordingly, Jacob Green withdrew from the Synod in October, 1779, and was followed by Joseph Grover, Amzi Lewis, and Ebenezer Bradford. These four organized the Associated Presbytery of Morris County May 3, 1780. It increased rapidly in numbers, and October, 1791, the Associated Presbytery of Westchester was organized, and Nov. 12, 1793, the Northern Associated Presbytery in the State of New York. In 1795 these three Associated Presbyteries combined in an annual convention. For some years they barred the way of the progress of the American Presbyterian Church in New York State, but they were all dissolved early in the nineteenth century, and absorbed either by the General Assembly or Congregational Associations.*

* Gillett, in *l. c.*, pp. 213–218.

The dissatisfaction of these ministers who withdrew was shared by no inconsiderable number who preferred to remain in the Synod and were unwilling to separate without imperative reasons.

In order to remove the increasing dissatisfaction in the Synod and to appease the jealousies of foreign influence in the government of the Church, it became indispensable that the Synod should organize a representative General Assembly, revise the Westminster symbols, and adopt a Constitution. The spirit of American Independence, which was active in the Church as well as in the State, imperatively demanded such action.

Accordingly, in 1788, the Synod resolved to organize a General Assembly composed of four Synods: *New York and New Jersey*, with four Presbyteries, Suffolk, Dutchess county, New York, and New Brunswick; *Philadelphia*, with five Presbyteries, Philadelphia, Lewes, New Castle, Baltimore, and Carlisle; *Virginia*, with four Presbyteries, Redstone, Hanover, Lexington, and Transylvania; *the Carolinas*, with three Presbyteries, Abingdon, Orange, and South Carolina. These sixteen Presbyteries contained 177 ministers, 111 probationers, and 419 churches.

The Synod revised the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, striking out or amending objectionable clauses or sections in the statements respecting the relation of Church and State. The following changes were made by omissions.

The *Westminster Confession*, xx. 4, reads:

"And because the power which God hath ordained, and the Liberty which Christ hath purchased, are not intended by God, to destroy, but mutually to uphold and preserve one another; They who upon pretence of Christian liberty, shall oppose any lawful Power, or the lawful exercise of it, whether it be Civil or Ecclesiastical, resist the Ordinance of God. And, for their publishing of such Opinions, or maintaining of such practices, as are

contrary to the light of Nature, or to the known Principles of Christianity; whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or to the Power of Godliness; or, such eronious Opinions or practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external Peace and Order which Christ hath established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by the Censures of the Church, *and by the power of the Civil Magistrate.*" (We cite from the London edition of 1658.)

This was amended by striking out the last clause, which we have given in italics.

The Larger Catechism was amended in question 109 by striking out the clause, "*tolerating a false Religion,*" from the catalogue of sins forbidden in the Second Commandment.

The following sections were entirely revised:

Westminster Confession, xxiii. 3.

The American Revision.	*The Original Text.*
Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or, in the least, interfere in matters of faith. Yet as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And, as Jesus Christ hath appointed	The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; yet he hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever

a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder, the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretence of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever: and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

Westminster Confession, xxxi. 1.

The Original Text.

For the better government and further edification of the Church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils.

II. As magistrates may lawfully call a synod of ministers and other fit persons to consult and advise with about matters of religion: so, if magistrates be open enemies to the Church, the ministers of Christ, of themselves, by virtue of their office; or they, with other fit persons, upon delegation from their churches, may meet together in such assemblies.

The American Revision.

For the better government and further edification of the church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils: and it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular churches, by virtue of their office, and the power which Christ hath given them for edification, and not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies; and to convene together in them, as often as they shall judge it expedient for the good of the church.

These changes in the Confession and Larger Catechism adapt the venerable Westminster symbols to the American idea of the separation of Church and State and the comprehension of all Christian denominations, with equal rights, liberties, and duties under the same civil government.

The Form of Government, Book of Discipline, and Directory for Worship were revised with care. The following preliminary principles were prefixed to them:

"The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in presenting to the Christian public the system of union, and the form of government and discipline which they have adopted, have thought proper to state, by way of introduction, a few of the general principles by which they have been governed in the formation of the plan. This, it is hoped, will, in some measure, prevent those rash misconstructions, and uncandid reflections, which usually proceed from an imperfect view of any subject; as well as make the several parts of the system plain, and the whole perspicuous and fully understood."

They are unanimously of opinion:

"I. That 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrine and commandments of men; which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship.' Therefore, they consider the rights of private judgement, in all matters that respect religion, as universal and unalienable: They do not even wish to see any religious constitution aided by the civil power, further than may be necessary for protection and security, and, at the same time, may be equal and common to all others.

"II. That, in perfect consistency with the above principle of common right, every Christian Church, or union and association of particular Churches, are entitled to declare the terms of admission into their communion, and the qualifications of their ministers and members, as well as the whole system of the internal government which Christ hath appointed: That in the exercise of this right, they may, notwithstanding, err, in making the terms of communion either too lax or too narrow: yet, even in

this case, they do not infringe the liberty, or encroach upon the rights of others, but only make an improper use of their own.

"III. That our blessed Saviour, for the edification of the visible church, which is his body, hath appointed officers, not only to preach the gospel *and administer the sacraments;* but also to exercise discipline, for the preservation both of truth and duty; and, that it is incumbent upon these *officers*, and upon the whole church, in whose name they act, to censure or cast out the erroneous and scandalous; observing, in *all* cases, the rules contained in the word of God.

"IV. That truth is in order to goodness; and the great touchstone of truth, its tendency to promote holiness; according to our Saviour's rule, 'by their fruits ye shall know them.' And that no opinion can be either more pernicious or more absurd, than that which brings truth and falsehood upon a level, and represents it as of no consequence what a man's opinions are. On the contrary, they are persuaded that there is an inseparable connection between faith and practice, truth and duty. Otherwise it would be of no consequence either to discover truth, or to embrace it.

"V. That, while under the conviction of the above principle, they think it necessary to make effectual provision, that all who are admitted as teachers, be sound in the faith; they also believe that there are truths and forms, with respect to which men of good characters and principles may differ. And in all these they think it the duty, both of private Christians and Societies, to exercise mutual forbearance towards each other.

"VI. That though the character, qualifications, and authority of Church-officers, are laid down in the *holy* Scriptures, as well as the proper method of *their* investiture and institution; yet the election of the persons, to the exercise of this authority, in any particular society, is in that society.

"VII. That all Church power, whether exercised by the body in general, or, in the way of representation, by delegated authority, is only ministerial and declarative: *That is to say*, that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and manners; that no Church judicatory ought to pretend to make laws, to bind the conscience, in virtue of their own authority; *and* that *all* their *decisions should* be founded upon the revealed will of God: *Now* though it *will* easily be admitted, that all Synods and Councils may err, through the frailty inseparable from humanity; yet there is

much greater danger, from the usurped claim of making laws, than from the right of judging upon laws already made, and common to all who profess the Gospel; although this right, as necessity requires in the present state, be lodged with fallible men.

"VIII. *Lastly*, That, if the above Scriptural and rational principles be steadfastly adhered to, the vigour and strictness of *their* discipline will contribute to the glory and happiness of any Church. Since *discipline* must be purely moral and spiritual in its object, and not attended with any civil effects, it can derive no force whatever, but from its own justice, the approbation of an impartial public, and the countenance and blessing of the great Head of the Church universal."

The revision of the six documents having been completed, the following action was taken:

"The Synod having fully considered the draught of the form of government and discipline, did, on a review of the whole, and hereby do ratify and adopt the same, as now altered and amended, as the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in America, and order the same to be considered and strictly observed as the rule of their proceedings, by all the inferior judicatories belonging to the body. And they order that a correct copy be printed, and that the Westminster Confession of Faith, as now altered, be printed in full along with it, as making a part of the constitution.

"Resolved, That the true intent and meaning of the above ratification by the Synod, is, that the Form of Government and Discipline and the Confession of Faith, as now ratified, is to continue to be our constitution and the confession of our faith and practice unalterable, unless two thirds of the Presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly shall propose alterations or amendments, and such alterations or amendments shall be agreed to and enacted by the General Assembly.

. . . . . .

"The Synod having now revised and corrected the draught of a directory for worship, did approve and ratify the same, and do hereby appoint the said directory, as now amended, to be the directory for the worship of God in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. They also took into considera-

tion the Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and having made a small amendment of the larger, did approve, and do hereby approve and ratify the said Catechisms, as now agreed on, as the Catechisms of the Presbyterian Church in the said United States. And the Synod order, that the said Directory and Catechisms be printed and bound up in the same volume with the Confession of Faith and the Form of Government and Discipline, and that the whole be considered as the standard of our doctrine, government, discipline, and worship, agreeably to the resolutions of the Synod at their present sessions." (*Records*, pp. 546–547.)

The Synod adopted the Constitution in the sense of the original Adopting Act of 1729 and the terms of the Reunion of 1758.* This is clear from the terms of subscription required of candidates for ordination:

"1. Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice?

"2. Do you sincerely receive and adopt the confession of faith of this church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures?

"3. Do you approve of the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in these United States?

"4. Do you promise subjection to your brethren in the Lord?

"5. Have you been induced, as far as you know your own heart, to seek the office of the holy ministry from love to God, and a sincere desire to promote his glory in the gospel of his Son?

"6. Do you promise to be zealous and faithful in maintaining the truths of the gospel, and the purity and peace of the church; whatever persecution or opposition may arise unto you on that account?

"7. Do you engage to be faithful and diligent in the exercise of all private and personal duties, which become you as a Christian and a minister of the gospel; as well as in all relative duties, and the public duties of your office; endeavouring to adorn the profession of the gospel by your conversation; and

* See pp. 216, 319.

walking with exemplary piety before the flock over which God shall make you overseer?"

In these ordination vows are wrapt up all the principles for which American Presbyterians had been contending from the beginning—liberal subscription to the *system of doctrine*, a general *approval* of the Presbyterian mode of government and discipline, and the necessity of piety and gracious experience in the ministry.

The spirit of Jonathan Dickinson and Gilbert Tennent animated the Synod of 1788; and the Holy Spirit of God presided over their deliberations, and brought the body to a harmonious and a unanimous conclusion.

That the Synod was a broad and tolerant body, is clear from external and internal testimony. The Presbytery of Suffolk was offended at some proposed modifications in the Form of Government, in the direction of strictness. The Synod replied to their Overture in 1787 requesting a separation, with the desire that their request should be reconsidered, representing:

"We have always supposed that you, as brethren with us, believed in the same general system of doctrine, discipline, worship, and Church government, as the same is contained in the Westminister Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Directory. . . . . We are Presbyterians, and we firmly believe the Presbyterian system of doctrine, discipline, and Church government to be nearer to the Word of God than that of any other sect or denomination of Christians. Shall all other sects and parties be united among themselves for their support and increase, and Presbyterians divided and subdivided, so as to be the scorn of some and the prey of others?" (*Records*, p. 532.)

This letter, and the able Committee appointed by Synod to "remove difficulties," gave satisfaction to the Presbytery of Suffolk, and it continued cordially with the Synod, and united in the adoption of the Constitution. It was the "*general system* of doctrine, discipline,

worship, and church government," which was adopted in the Constitution, and matters not essential and necessary to this "general system" were in 1789, as in 1729 and 1758, not binding.

We have also external testimony. William Marshall, of the Scots Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia,* in his Catechism (1784) thus describes the Synod of New York and Philadelphia:

"This Synod, and the people under their inspection, are the most numerous body of Presbyterians in the United States. They are composed of ministers and people from different countries; hence it is not surprising that they are not of one heart and one mind in the faith. However, it appears to be a received principle among them that whatever is disputed among the pious and learned ought not to be a term of communion in the Christian Church, and hence they live generally in peace with one another, notwithstanding their jarring sentiments" (p. 137). . . . . "The divine right of Presbyterial government is not generally admitted, but they maintain Church government to be doubtful; hence ministers of the Episcopal, Independent, and Baptist communions who have a glaring appearance of piety, are admitted into their pulpits" (p. 139).

This representation is certainly overdrawn, and is to be estimated as coming from a bitter partisan, and yet the underlying truth in it, which Marshall meant for censure, is a highly creditable representation of the catholic spirit and character of the American Presbyterian Church.

With the adoption of the Constitution and the organization of the General Assembly, the American Presbyterian Church passed from the colonial period, and entered into the first period of the history of the American nation, as a fully-organized and well-equipped body, on

* Marshall was one of the two ministers who declined to unite with the Associate Reformed Synod, and adhered to the Anti-Burger Synod of Scotland. See p. 358.

an equality with the Presbyterian bodies of the Old World. It had been planted by English Presbyterians; these had united with a generous type of Irish and Scotch Presbyterians in the organization of a Presbytery; the Presbytery received into its membership Presbyterians from many lands and of many types, and grew into a Synod; it adopted the Westminster Standards in 1729, and steered safely between the Scylla of the license of non-subscription and the Charybdis of the tyranny of strict subscription. The first rupture brought on by violence was a severe lesson to the strict subscriptionists and narrow dogmatists, and the reunion re-established the whole Church on the platform of the original Adopting Act. When the Constitution was adopted, the American Presbyterian Church adhered to its original position, and there it stands to-day after another century of progress, disruption, reunion, and marvellous growth. About this banner of a broad, generous, and tolerant Presbyterianism, all the Presbyterian bodies of the land will eventually rally. When they have learned to value less the national peculiarities which they have inherited from their foreign ancestors, and to insist less upon the minor matters and circumstantials of religion which they have received by tradition of the elders, they will see that the essential and prudential American Presbyterianism which combines the conservative and the progressive forces of the age, and comprehends all the legitimate types of Presbyterianism, is vastly higher than any of the elements of which it is composed, be they Huguenot, Puritan, Covenanter, Dutch, Welsh, Irish, Swiss, German, or any other.

APPENDIX.

This Appendix contains a number of official documents; several letters, recently discovered by the author, and by other friends who have kindly granted him permission to use them; and illustrative matter of various sorts, which would have overburdened the narrative.

I.

The Book of Discipline of the Elizabethan Presbyterians.

When the English Presbyterians in the reign of Elizabeth undertook to establish the Presbyterian discipline in the Church of England it was necessary for them to agree upon a book of Discipline. Such a book was drafted by Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright, on the basis of the larger work of Travers, which was published in 1574, under the title: *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa aberratione, plena e verbo Dei et dilucida Explicatio*, and translated in the same year by Thomas Cartwright. A second edition of the translation was published at Geneva in 1580. The draft of the Book of Discipline was carefully considered by conferences in London and Warwickshire. In 1584 it was revised by a general synod in London, and referred to Mr. Travers for correction. In 1588 it was signed at an Assembly in Warwickshire, and in 1590 by as many as 500 ministers in all parts of England. The original edition in Latin seems to have entirely disappeared. It was diligently searched for by the prelates, and wherever found it was destroyed. A few copies of an English translation were preserved. In 1644 a copy (found in the study of Thomas Cartwright) was republished in London. This copy was reprinted in 1872 as "a contribution to the Tercentenary Commemoration, by 'the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in England,' of the erection of the First Presbytery in England at Wandsworth in the year 1572," edited by the late Principal Lorimer. We follow the edition of 1644 in exact reproduction.

A Directory of Church-government. Anciently contended for, and as farre as the Times would suffer, practised by the first Non-conformists in the daies of Queen Elizabeth. Found in the study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease; and reserved to be published for such a time as this. Published by authority. London, printed for John Wright in the Old-baily. 1644.

The Sacred Discipline of the Church, described in the Word of God.

The Discipline of Christs Church that is necessary for all times is delivered by Christ, and set downe in the holy Scriptures. Therefore the true and lawfull Discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other foundation ought to be esteemed unlawfull and counterfeit.

Of all particular Churches there is one and the same right order and forme: Therefore also no one may challenge to it selfe any power over others; nor any right which doth not alike agree to others.

The Ministers of publique charges in every particular Church ought to be called and appointed to their charges by a lawfull Ecclesiasticall calling, such as hereafter is set downe.

All these for the divers regard of their severall kinds are of equall power amongst themselves.

No man can be lawfully called to publique charge in any Church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common gifts of all the godly; that is, with faith, and a blamelesse life: And further also, with those that are proper to that Ministery wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon for triall of those gifts some convenient way and examination is to be used.

The party to be called must first be elected, then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is chosen, by the prayers of that Church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutuall duties of him and of the Church being before laid open.

The Ministers of the Church are, first they that are Ministers of the word. In their examination it is specially to be taken

heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and tryed men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the Faith.

Now these Ministers of the word are, first Pastors, which doe administer the Word and Sacraments, then Teachers, which are occupied in wholsome doctrine.

Besides there are also Elders, which watch over the life and behaviour of every man, and Deacons, which have care over the poore.

Further, in every particular Church there ought to be a Presbytery, which is a Consistory, and as it were a Senate of Elders. Under the name of Elders here are contained they who in the Church minister doctrine, and they who are properly called Elders.

By the common Counsell of the Eldership all things are directed that belong to the state of their Church. First, such as belong to the guidance of the whole body of it in the holy and common assembly gathered together in the name of the Lord, that all things may be done in them duely, orderly, and to edification. 2. Then also such as pertaine to particular persons. First, to all the members of that Church, that the good may enjoy all the priviledges that belong unto them, that the wicked may be corrected with Ecclesiasticall censures according to the quality of the fault, private and publique, by admonishing it by remooving either from the Lords Supper by suspension (as it is commonly called) or out of the Church by Excommunication. The which belong specially to the Ministers of publique charge in the Church to their calling either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving or punishing them, and that for a time by suspension or altogether by deposition.

For directing of the Eldership let the Pastors be set over it, or if there be no Pastors then one in the same Church, let the Pastors doe it in their turnes.

But yet in all the greater affaires of the Church, as in Excommunicating of any, and in choosing and deposing of Church Ministers, nothing may be concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Church.

Particular Churches ought to yeeld mutuall help one to another, for which cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

The end of this communicating together is, that all things in them may be so directed both in regard of Doctrine and also of Discipline, as by the Word of God they ought to bee.

Therefore the things that belong hereunto are determined by the common opinion of those who meet so to communicate together, and whatsoever is to be amended furthered or procured in any of those severall Churches that belong to that assembly. Wherein, albeit no particular Church hath power over another, yet every particular Church of the same resort, meeting and counsell, ought to obey the opinion of more Churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these meetings and assemblies there are to be chosen by every Church belonging to that assembly, principall men from among the Elders, who are to have their instructions from them, and so to bee sent to the Assembly. There must be also a care had, that the things they shall returne to have been godly agreed on by the meetings, be diligently observed by the Churches.

Further in such assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see, that the assemblies be held godly, quiet and comely. Therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the conference with prayer, to know every mans instructions, to propound in order the things that are to bee handled, to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly.

The Synodicall Discipline gathered out of the Synods and use of the Churches which have restored it according to the Word of God, and out of sundry bookes that are written of the same, and referred unto certain Heads.

Of the necessity of a Calling.

Let no man thrust himselfe into the executing of any part of publique charge in the administration of the Word, Sacraments, Discipline or care over the poore. Neither let any such sue or seek for any publique charge of the Church, but let every one tarry untill hee bee lawfully called.

The manner of entring and determining of a Calling and against a Ministery of no certaine place; and the desertion of a Church.

Let none be called but unto some certain charge ordained of God, and to the exercising of the same in some particular Con-

gregation. And he that is so called let him be so bound to that Church that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the confession of Doctrine and Discipline. Whereof let them be admonished to have copies with themselves.

In the examination of Ministers the testimony of the place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may bee understood what life and conversation hee hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any Heresie, or to the reading of any hereticall books, or to curious and strange questions and idle speculations; or rather whether hee be accompted sound and consenting in all things to the Doctrine received in the Church. Whereunto if hee agree, hee is also to expound some part of the holy Scriptures twice or oftner, as it shall seem meet to the examiners, and that before the Conference, and that Church which is interessed. Let him also be demanded of the principall heads of Divinity. And whether he will diligently execute and discharge his Ministery, and in the execution thereof propound unto himselfe not his owne desires and commodities, but the glory of God and edification of the Church. Lastly, whether hee will be studious and carefull to maintaine and preserve wholesome Doctrine, and Ecclesiasticall Discipline. Thus let the Minister be examined not onely by one Eldership, but also by some greater meeting and assembly.

Of Election.

Before the Election of a Minister and the deliberation of the Conference concerning the same, let there be a day of Fast kept in the Church interessed.

Of the place of exercising this Calling.

Albeit it be lawfull for a Minister upon just occasion to Preach in another Church then that whereof he is Minister, yet none may exercise any ordinary Ministery elsewhere, but for a certaine time upon great occasion, and by the consent of his Church and Conference.

Of the Office of the Ministers of the word, and first of the order of Liturgy, or Common Prayer.

Let the Minister that is to Preach name a Psalme or a part of a Psalm (beginning with the first, and so proceeding) that may

be sung by the Church, noting to them the end of their singing (to wit) the glory of God and their own edification. After the Psalme let a short admonition to the people follow of preparing themselves to pray duly unto God. Then let there be made a Prayer containing a generall confession. First of the guilt of sin both originall and actuall, and of the punishment which is due by the Law for them both. Then also of the promise of the Gospell, and in respect of it supplication of pardon for the said guilt and punishment, and petition of grace promised, as for the duties of the whole life, so especially for the godly expounding and receiving of the Word. Let this petition be concluded with the Lords Prayer. After the Sermon, let Prayer be made againe, First for grace to profit by the doctrine delivered, the principall heads thereof being remembred; then for all men, but chiefly for the universall Church and for all estates and degrees of the people; which is likewise to be ended with the Lords Prayer and the singing of a Psalme as before. Last of all let the Congregation be dismissed, with some convenient forme of blessing taken out of the Scripture, such as is Num. 6.24, 2 Cor. 13.13.

Of Preaching.

Let him that shall Preach choose some part of the Canonicall Scripture to expound, and not of the Apocrypha. Further in his ordinary Ministery, let him not take Postills (as they are called) but some whole booke of the holy Scripture, especially of the new Testament, to expound in order. In choise whereof regard is to be had both of the Ministers ability, and of the edification of the Church.

He that Preacheth must performe two things, the first that his speech bee uncorrupt, which is to be considered both in regard of the Doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholsome and profitable to edification, not divelish, hereticall, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by consequent, that the same be fit and cleere and such as may rise upon the property of the word, grace of speech and suit of the matter, and not be allegoricall, strange, wrested or far fetched. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the Church, be delivered. Further let the explication, confirmation, enlargement and applica-

tion, and the whole Treatise and handling of it be in the vulgar tongue, and let the whole confirmation and proofe be made by arguments, testimonies and examples taken only out of the holy Scriptures, applied fitly and according to the naturall meaning of the places that are alleadged.

The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth is a reverend gravity; This is considered first in the stile, phrase and manner of speech, that it be spirituall, pure, proper, simple and applied to the capacity of the people, not such as humane wisdome teacheth, nor savoring of new fanglednesse, nor either so affectate as it may serve for pompe and ostentation, or so carelesse, and base, as becommeth not Ministers of the Word of God. Secondly, it is also to be regarded aswell in ordering the voyce, in which a care must be had that (avoyding the keeping alwayes of one tune) it may be equall, and both rise and fall by degrees; as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voyce, there being avoyded in it all unseemly gestures of the head or other parts and often turning of the body to divers sides. Finally let the gesture be grave, modest and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither like the gestures of Playes or Fencers.

These things are to be performed by him that Preacheth, whereby when need requireth they may be examined who are trayned and exercised to be made fit to Preach: Let there be, if it may be, every Sabbath day two Sermons, and let them that preach alwayes endeavour to keepe themselves within one houre, especially on the weekdayes. The use of preaching at Burialls is to be left as it may bee done conveniently, because there is danger that they may nourish the superstition of some, or bee abused to pompe and vanity.

Of the Catechisme.

Let the Catechisme bee taught in every Church. Let there be two sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the sum of Religion by a sute and order of certaine places of the Scriptures, according to which some point of the holy Doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the same sort but shorter, fit for the examination of the rude and ignorant before they be admitted to the Lords Supper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or Divine Service.

All the rest of the Liturgy or Divine Service consisteth in the administration of the Sacraments and by the custome of the

Church in the blessing of Marriage. The most commodious forme thereof is that which is used by the Churches that have reformed their Discipline according to the Word of God.

Of Sacraments.

Let onely a Minister of the Word that is a Preacher minister the Sacraments, and that after the preaching of the Word, and not in any other place then in the publique assemblies of the Church.

Of Baptisme.

Women only may not offer unto Baptisme those that are to be baptized, but the Father if it may be, or in his name some other. They which present unto Baptisme ought to be perswaded not to give those that are Baptized the names of God or of Christ, or of Angells or of holy Offices, as of Baptist, Evangelist, &c. nor such as savour of Paganisme or Popery; but chiefly such whereof there are examples in the holy Scriptures in the names of those who are reported in them to have beene godly and vertuous.

Of the Communion.

Let the time of celebrating the Communion bee made known eight dayes before, that the Congregation may prepare themselves, and that the Elders may do their duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of Signifying their names that are to communicate.

Let them which before have not beene received to the Lords Table when they first desire to come to it, give their names to the Minister seaven dayes before the Communion that care of enquiring of them may be committed to the Elders, that if there be any cause of hindrance there may be stay made betime; but if there be no such thing let them proceed (where neede may be) to the examining of their faith before some of the Elders and Ministers every moneth before the Communion. Let this whole Treatise of Discipline be read in the consistory, and let the Ministers, Elders and Deacons be censured one after an other; yet so that the Minister concerning Doctrine be censured of Ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the Communion that have made confession of their faith, and submitted themselves to the Discipline; unlesse they shall bring letters testimoniall of good credit

from some other place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient testimonie.

Children are not to be admitted to the Communion before they be of the age of 14 yeares except the consistory shall otherwise determine.

On the Sabbath-day next before the Communion, let mention be made in the Sermon of the examination, wherunto the Apostle exhorteth, and of the peace that is by faith, in the day of the Communion, let there be speech of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and especially of the Lords Supper.

Of Fasting.

Let the day of Fasting bee published by the Pastor according to the advise of the consistory, either for supplication, for turning away of calamities present or threatened; or for petition of some speciall grace. Let the Sermons upon the same day before and after noone (as on the Lords day) bee such as may bee fit for the present occasion.

Of Holidaies.

Holidaies are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage.

Let espousing goe before marriage. Let the words of espousing be of the present time, and without condition, and before sufficient witnesses on both sides. It is to be wished that the Minister or an Elder be present at the espousals, who having called upon God may admonish both parties of their duties. First, may have care of avoyding the degrees forbidden both by the Law of God and man: and then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any bond of Marriage, which if they professe and be strangers, he may also require sufficient testimony. Further also they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge and be strangers he may demand convenient testimony of the death of the other party. Finally, let them be asked if they be under the government of any; whether they whom it concerneth have consented.

The Espousals being done in due order, let them not be dissolved, though both parties should consent. Let the marriage be solemnized within two moneths after. Before the marriage

let the promise be published three severall Sabbath daies; but first, let the parties espoused, with their parents or governours desire the publishing thereof of the Minister and two Elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those things that are needfull, and let them require to see the instrument of the covenant of the Marriage, or at least sufficient testimony of the Espousals. Marriage may be solemnized and blessed upon any ordinary day of publique prayer, saving upon a day of Fast.

Of Schooles.

Let children be instructed in Schooles; both in other learning, and especially in the Catechisme; that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it; when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lords Supper, after they have been examined by the Minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity, and their Exercises.

In every Church where it may conveniently be done, care is to be had that some poore Schollers studious of Divinity being fit for Theologicall exercises, and especially for expounding of holy Scripture, may by the liberality of the godly rich be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that exposition as often as it shall be convenient to be had be in the presence at least of one Minister, by whose presence they may be kept in order, and in the same sort, (as touching the manner of preaching) that publique Sermons are made. Which being ended, let the other students (he being put apart that was Speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publiquely, as is set down before. Of whose opinion let the Minister that is present and is moderator of their exercise, judge and admonish the speaker, as he shall thinke meet.

Of Elders.

Let the Elders know every particular house and person of the Church, that they may enforme the Minister of the condition of every one, and the Deacons of the sicke, and poore, that they may take care to provide for them: they are not to be perpetuall, neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

In the Consistory the most voices are to be yeelded unto. In it onely Ecclesiasticall things are to be handled. Of them; first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common direction of the publique assembly, in the order of Liturgy or divine Service, Sermon, Prayers, Sacraments, Marriages, and Burials. Then with such also as pertaine to the oversight of every one, and their particular deeds. Further, they are to cause such things as shall be thought meet to be registred and written in a booke. They are also to cause to be written in another booke the names of them that are baptized, with the names of their parents and sureties. Likewise of the Communicants. Further also are to be noted their names that are married, that die, and to whom Letters testimoniall are given.

Of the Censures.

None is to be complained of unto the Consistory unlesse first the matter being uttered with silencing the parties name, if it seem meet so to be done by the judgment of the Consistory.

In private and lesse faults the precept of Christ, *Mat.* 18. is to be kept.

Greater and publique offences are to be handled by the Consistory. Further publique offences are to be esteemed, first, such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole Church knowing of it. Secondly, such as be done in a publique place, albeit few know it. Thirdly, that are made such by pertinacy and contempt. Fourthly, that for the heinousnesse of the offence are to be punished with some grievous civill punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated being in publique charge in the Church, are to be deposed also from their charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the Ministery by reason of their ignorance, or of some incurable disease, or by any other such cause, are disabled to performe their Ministery. But in the roomes of such as are disabled by meanes of sicknesse or age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is discharged; and further, so as the reverence of the Ministery may remaine unto him, and he may be provided for liberally and in good order.

When there is question concerning an heretique, complained

of to the Consistory, streight let two or three neighbour Ministers be called, men godly and learned, and free from that suspition, by whose opinion he may be suspended till such time as the Conference may take knowledge of his cause.

The obstinate after admonition by the Consistory, though the fault have not been so great, are to be suspended from the Communion; and if they continue in their obstinacy, this shall be the order to proceed to their Excommunication. Three severall Sabbath daies after the Sermon publiquely let be declared the offence committed by the offender. The first Sabbath let not the offenders name be published. The second let it be declared, and withall a certaine day of the weeke named, to be kept for that cause in fasting and prayer. The third let warning be given of his Excommunicating to follow the next Sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient cause to the contrary: so upon the fourth Sabbath day let the sentence of Excommunication be pronounced against him, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great offences, opprobrious to the Church, and to be grievously punished by the Magistrates authority, albeit he professe his repentance in words, yet for the triall thereof, and to take away the offence, let him for a time be kept from the Communion. Which how often, and how long it is to be done, let the Consistory according to their discretion determine. After which, if the party repent, he is brotherly to be received againe; but not untill he have openly professed his repentance before the Church, by consent whereof he should have been Excommunicated.

If the Ministers of any publique charge of the Church commit any such thing, they are to be deposed from their charge.

Of the assemblies of the Church.

Particular Churches are to communicate one with another by common meetings and resorts. In them onely Ecclesiasticall matters are to be handled, and of those, onely such as pertaine to the Churches of that resort; concerning other Churches, unlesse they be desired, they are to determine nothing further then to referre such matters to their next common and great meeting.

Let the Order of proceeding in them be this: First, let the survey be taken of those that are present, and the names of those that are absent, and should be there, be noted that they

may give a reason at their next meeting of their absence, or be censured by the judgement of the assembly next. Let the acts of the last assembly of that kinde be read, that if any of the same remaine unfinished they may be dispatched. Then let those things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present assembly. Where first the instructions sent from the Churches are to be delivered by every one in order, as they fit together, with their Letters of credence. Secondly, let the state of the Churches of that resort be considered, to wit, how they are instructed and guided. Whether the holy Doctrine and Discipline be taught and exercised in them, and whether the Ministers of publique charges doe their duty, and such like. Furthermore they shall determine of those things that doe appertaine to the common state of all the Churches of that resort, or unto any of the same, which way may be sufficient for the oversight of the Churches. Lastly, if it seem meet, the Delegates present may be censured.

They that are to meet in such assemblies are to be chosen by the consent of the Churches of that assembly and conference to whom it may appertaine.

Let such onely be chosen that exercise publique function in the Church of Ministery or Eldership, and which have subscribed to the Doctrine and Discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the Word of God. Notwithstanding it may be lawfull also to be present for other Elders and other Ministers, and likewise (if the Assembly thinke it meet) for Deacons and for Students in Divinity, especially those that exercise themselves in expounding the holy Scriptures in the Conferences, and be asked their opinion. Which in students is to this end, that their judgements in handling matters Ecclesiasticall may be both tried and sharpned. But they onely are to give voyce which are chosen by the Churches, and have brought their instructions signed from them.

If there fall out any very waighty matter to be consulted of, let notice of it be given to the Moderator of the Assembly next going before, or to the Minister of that Church where the next meeting is to be. The same is to send word of it in due time to the Minister of every Church of that Assembly, that they may communicate it afore-hand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the Delegates resorting to the next meeting may understand and report their judgements.

In appointing of the place for the Assembly regard must be had of the convenient distance, and other commodities that no part may justly complaine that they are burthened above others.

In every such Ecclesiasticall Assembly it is meet there be a Moderator. Hee is to have charge of the Assembly, to see it kept in good order. Hee is alwaies, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The choise is to be in this manner:

The Moderator of the former Assembly of that kind, or in his absence the Minister of the Church where they meet, having first prayed fitly to that purpose, is to move the Assembly to choose a Moderator. He being chosen is to provide that the things done in the Assembly may be written, that the Delegates of every Church may write them out and communicate them with the Conferences from whence they came.

The Moderator is also by the order and judgement of the Assembly, to give answer either by speech or by Letters, to such as desire any answer, and to execute censures if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all things to be done in it godly and quietly, exhorting to meeknesse, moderation of spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the Assembly to take order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, he is to remember them of the next meeting following, with thankes for their paines, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their Callings, and so curteously to dismisse the Assembly. Before such time none may depart without leave of the Assembly.

Those Assemblies, according to their kinds have greate authority, if they be greater; and lesse, if they be lesse. Therefore (unlesse it be a plaine act, and manifest unto all) if any thinke himselfe injured by the lesse meeting, he may appeale still unto a greater, till he come to a generall Councell, so that hee ascend orderly from the lesse to the next greater. But it is to be understood, that the sentence of the Assemblies be holden firme untill it be otherwise judged by an Assembly of greater authority.

Assemblies or meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

Conferences are the meetings of the Elders of a few Churches, as for example, of twelve. There are to meet in a Conference chosen by the Eldership of every particular Church, one Minis-

ter, and one Elder. The Conferences are to be kept once in six weeks.

They are specially to looke into the state of the Churches that resort and Conference: Examining particularly these severall points. Whether all things be done in them according to the holy Doctrine and Discipline of the Gospell, (to wit) whether any questions be moved concerning any point of Doctrine. Whether the Ecclesiasticall Discipline be duely observed. Whether any Minister be wanting in any of those Churches, that a sufficient one in due time may be procured. Whether the other Ministers of publique charge in the Church be appointed in every Congregation. Whether care be had of Schooles, and for the poore. Finally, they are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth the advice of the Conference, for the advancement of the Gospell amongst them.

Before the end of the meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the Ministers assembled in Conference either chosen by voyce, or taking it by turn, Preach publiquely. Of his Speech let the rest judge among themselves (the Elders being put apart) and admonish him brotherly, if there be any cause, examining all things according to those Rules that are before declared in the Chapter concerning the things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A Synod is the meeting of chosen men of many Conferences. In them let the whole Treatise of Discipline be read. In them also (other things first being finished as was said before) let all those that are present be censured (if it may be done conveniently) and let them also have a communion in, and with the Church where they were called.

There are two sorts of Synods, the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the Provinciall and Nationall Synod. A Provinciall Synod is the meeting of the chosen Men of every Conference, within the Province. A Province containeth foure and twenty conferences.

A fit way to call a provinciall councell may be this, The care thereof (except themselves will determine of it) may be committed to the particular Eldership of some conference within the Province, which by advise of the same conference may appoint the place and time for the meeting of the Provinciall Synod.

To that Church or Eldership are to be sent the matters that seemed to the particular conferences more difficult for them to take order in, and such as belong to the Churches of the whole Province, which is to be done diligently, and in good time, that the same may in due season give notice of the place and time of the Synod, and of the matters to be debated therein, that they which shall be sent may come the better prepared and judge of them according to the advise of the Conferences.

Two Ministers and as many Elders are to be sent from every Conference unto the Provinciall Synod: The same is to be held every halfe yeare or oftner till the Discipline be setled. It is to be held three moneths before every nationall Synod, that they may prepare and make ready those things that pertaine to the Nationall. The acts of the Provinciall Synod are to be sent unto the Nationall, by the Eldership of that Church in which it was holden, and every Minister is to be furnished with a Copy of them, and with the reasons of the same. A National Synod or convocation is a meeting of the chosen men of every Province, within the Dominion of the same Nation and civill government. The way to call it (unlesse it shall determine otherwise) may be the same with the Provinciall, that is, by the Eldership of some particular Church, which shall appoint the time and place of the next Nationall Convocation; but not otherwise then by the advise of their Provinciall Synod.

Out of every Provinciall Synod there are to bee chosen three Ministers, and as many Elders to bee sent to the Nationall. They are to handle the things pertaining to the Churches of the whole Nation or Kingdome, as the Doctrine, Discipline, Ceremonies, things not decided by inferiour meetings, appeales and such like. By the order of the same, one is to bee appointed which may gather into one booke the Notes of every particular Church.

Thus much for particular meetings, the universall followeth, which is called a generall, or œcomenicall councell, which is a meeting of the chosen men of every Nationall Synod. The acts of all such councells are to be registred and reported in a book.

The Discipline intituled the Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God, as farre as we can judge, is taken, and drawne from the most pure Fountaine of the Word of God, and containeth in it the Discipline of the Church that is necessary, essentiall and common to all ages of the Church.

The Synodicall also adjoyned as it resteth upon the same

foundations is likewise necessary and perpetuall. But as farre as it is not expressly, confirmed by Authority of the holy Scripture, but is applied to the use and times of the Church as their divers states may require, according to the Analogy and generall Rules of the same Scripture, is to bee judged profitable for the Churches that receive it, but may bee changed in such things as belong not to the essence of the Discipline upon a like godly reason, as the divers estates of the Church may require.

The forme of the Subscription.

The Brethren of the conference of N. whose names are here under written have subscribed this discipline after this manner. This Discipline wee allow as a godly Discipline, and agreeable to the Word of God, (yet so as wee may be first satisfied in the things hereunder noted) and desire the same so acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawfull meanes, that by publique authority of the Magistrate, and of our Church it may bee established.

Which thing, if it may bee obtained of Her right Excellent Majesty, and other the Magistrates of this Kingdome, we promise that we will doe nothing against it whereby the publique peace of the Church may be troubled. In the mean time we promise to observe it so far as it may be lawfull for us so to doe, by the publique Lawes of this Kingdome, and by the Peace of our Church

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II.

ARCHBISHOP USSHER'S REDUCTION OF EPISCOPACY UNDER THE FORM OF SYNODICAL GOVERNMENT.

Archbishop Ussher, in 1641, proposed a plan of ecclesiastical reform which, it was supposed, would suit moderate men of the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties. It retained Episcopacy, but made it a part of a Presbyterian or Synodical Government of the Church. If Archbishop Ussher and the Episcopal Puritans had taken part in the Westminster Assembly, they might have allied themselves with the moderate Presbyterians, and made this scheme the basis of ecclesiastical reform. But they absented

themselves and left the Presbyterians to get on as best they could with the Independents. The scheme of Archbishop Ussher was published in an incorrect form under the title: *The Reduction of Episccpacie under the form of Synodical Government, Received in the Antient Church: Proposed as an Expedient for the compromising of the now Differences, and the preventing of those Troubles that may arise about the matter of Church Government.* London, 1656. This induced his friend Nicholas Bernard to publish it in a correct edition. We follow the text of Bernard's edition: *The Reduction of Episcopacy Unto the Form of Synodical Government, Received in the Ancient Church: By the most Reverend and learned Father of our Church, Dr. James Vsher, late Arch-Bishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. Proposed in the year* 1641. *as an Expedient for the prevention of those Troubles, which afterwards did arise about the matter of Church-Government. Published by Nicholas Bernard, D. D. Preacher to the Honourable Society of Grayes-Inne, London.* London, Printed, Anno Domini 1658.

TO THE READER:

The Originall of this was given me by the most Reverend Primate, some few years before his death, wrote throughout with his own hand, and of late I have found it subscribed by himself, and Doctor Holseworth, and with a Marginal Note at the first Proposition which I have also added. If it may now answer the expectation of many pious, and prudent Persons, who have desired the publishing of it, as a seasonable preparative to some moderation in the midst of those extreams, which this Age abounds with, it will attain the end intended by the Authour: And it is likely to be more operative, by the great reputation he had, and hath in the hearts of all good men, being far from the least suspicion to be byassed by any private ends, but onely ayming at the reducing of Order, Peace, and Vnity, which God is the Authour of, and not of confusion. For the recovery of which, it were to be wished, that such as do consent in Substantials, for matter of Doctrine, would consider of some conjunction in point of Discipline, that private interest and circumstantials, might not keep them thus far asunder.

N. BERNARD.

Grayes-Inne, *Octob.* 13, 1657.

The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church; proposed in the

year 1641, as an Expedient for the prevention of those troubles, which afterwards did arise about the matter of Church-Government.

Episcopal and Presbyterial Government conjoyned.

By Order of the Church of England, all Presbyters are charged * to administer the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realme hath received the same; And that they might the better understand what the Lord had commanded therein, † the exhortation of Saint Paul, to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their Ordination; Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to ‡ Rule the Congregation of God, which he hath purchased with his blood.

Of the many Elders, who in common thus ruled the Church of Ephesus, there was one President, whom our Saviour in his Epistle unto this Church in a peculiar manner stileth § the Angell of the Church of Ephesus: and Ignatius in another Epistle written about twelve yeares after unto the same Church, calleth the Bishop thereof. Betwixt the Bishop and the Presbytery of that Church, what an harmonius consent there was in the ordering of the Church-Government, the same Ignatius doth fully there declare, by the Presbytery, with ‖ Saint Paul, understanding the Community of the rest of the Presbyters, or Elders, who then had a hand not onely in the delivery of the Doctrine and Sacraments, but also in the Administration of the Discipline of Christ: for further proof of which, we have that known testimony of Tertullian in his general Apology for Christians.¶ In the Church are used exhortations, chastisements, and divine censure; for judgement is given with great advice as among those, who are certain they are in the fight of God, and in it is the chiefest foreshewing of the judgement which is to

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* The Book of Ordination. † Ibid. ex Act. 20, 27, 28.

‡ πωμαίνειν. So taken in Mat. II, 6, and Rev. xii. 5, and xix. 15.

§ Rev. ii, 1. ‖ 1 Tim. iv, 14.

¶ Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina; nam et judicatur magno cum pondere ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit ut a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commecii relegetur. præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed Testimonio adepti. Tertul. Apologet. cap. 39.

come, if any man have so offended, that he be banished from the Communion of prayer, and of the Assembly, and of all holy fellowship. The Presidents that bear rule therein are certain approved Elders, who have obtained this honour not by reward, but by good report, who were no other (as he himself intimates) elsewhere but *those from whose hands they used to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

For with the Bishop, who was the chiefe President (and therefore stiled by the same Tertullian in another place, †Summus Sacerdos for distinction sake) the rest of the dispensers of the Word and Sacraments joyned in the common Government of the Church; and therefore, where in matters of Ecclesiasticall Judicature, Cornelius Bishop of Rome used the received forme of ‡gathering together the Presbytery; of what persons that did consist, Cyprian sufficiently declareth, when he wisheth him to read his Letters §to the flourishing Clergy: which there did preside, or rule with him: The presence of the Clergy being thought to bee so requisite in matters of Episcopall audience, that in the fourth Councell of Carthage it was concluded, ‖That the Bishop might hear no mans cause without the presence of the Clergy: and that otherwise the Bishops sentence should be void, unlesse it were confirmed by the presence of the Clergy: which we find also to be inserted into the Canons of ¶Egbert, who was Arch-Bishop of York in the Saxon times, and afterwards into the body of the Cannon Law it self.**

True it is, that in our Church this kinde of Presbyterial Government hath been long disused, yet seeing it still professeth that every Pastor hath a right to rule the Church (from whence the name of Rector also was given at first unto him) and to administer the Discipline of Christ, as well as to dispense the Doc-

* Nec de aliorum manibus quam præsidentium sumimus. Id. de corona militis, cap. 3.

† Dandi quidem Baptismi habet jus summus sacerdos; qui est Episcopus; dehinc Presbyteri Diaconi. Id. de Bapt. cap. 17.

‡ Omni actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi Presbyterium, Cornel. apud Cyp. epist. 46.

§ Florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti. Cyprian, epist. 55, ad Cornel.

‖ Vt Episcopus nullius causam audiet absque præsentia Clericorum suorum, alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi nisi Clericorum præsentiâ confirmetur. Concil. Carthag. iv., cap. 23.

¶ Excerption. Egberti, c. 43. ** 15. q. 7. cap. Nullus.

trine and Sacraments, and the restraint of the exercise of that right proceedeth onely from the custome now received in this Realm; no man can doubt, but by another Law of the Land, this hinderance may be well removed. And how easily this ancient form of Government by the united suffrages of the Clergy might be revived again, and with what little shew of alteration the Synodical conventions of the Pastors of every Parish might be accorded with the Presidency of the Bishops of each Diocese and Province, the indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing Propositions.

I. In every Parish the Rector, or Incumbent Pastor, together with the Church-Wardens and Sides-men, may every week take notice of such as live scandalously in that Congregation, who are to receive such several admonitions and reproofs, as the quality of their offense shall deserve; And if by this means they cannot be reclaimed, they may be presented to the next monethly Synod; and in the mean time debarred by the Pastor from accesse unto the Lords Table.

II. Whereas by a Statute in the six and twentieth year of King Henry the eighth (revived in the first year of Queen Elizabeth) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in 26. several places of this Kingdom; the number of them might very well be conformed unto the number of the several Rural Deanries, into which every Diocese is subdivided; which being done, the Suffragan supplying the place of those, who in the ancient Church were called Chorepiscopi, might every moneth assemble a Synod of all the Rectors, or Incumbent Pastors within the Precinct, and according to the major part of their voyces, conclude all matters that shall be brought into debate before them.

To this Synod the Rector and Church-wardens might present such impenitent persons, as by admonitions and suspension from the Sacrament would not be reformed; who if they should still remain contumacious and incorrigible, the sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be executed in the Parish where they lived. Hitherto also all things that concerned the Parochial Ministers might be referred, whether they did touch their Doctrine, or their conversation as also the censure of all new Opinions, Heresies, and Schismes, which did arise within that Circuit; with liberty of Appeal, if need so require, unto the Diocesan Synod.

III. The Diocesan Synod might be held, once, or twice in the

year, as it should be thought most convenient; Therein all the Suffragans, and the rest of the Rectors, or Incumbent Pastors (or a certain select number of every Deanry) within the Diocese might meet, with whose consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop, or *Superintendent (call him whether you will) or in his absence, by one of the Suffragans; whom he shall depute in his stead to be Moderator of that Assembly.

Here all matters of greater moment might be taken into consideration, and the Orders of the monthly Synodes revised, and (if need be) reformed; and if here also any matter of difficulty could not receive a full determination: it might be referred to the next Provincial, or National Synod.

IV. The Provincial Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such other of the Clergy as should be elected out of every Diocese within the Province, the Arch-Bishop of either Province, might be the Moderator of this meeting, (or in his room some one of the Bishops appointed by him) and all matters be ordered therein by common consent as in the former Assemblies.

This Synod might be held every third year, and if the Parliament do then sit (according to the Act of a Triennial Parliament) both the Arch-Bishops and Provincial Synods of the Land might joyn together, and make up a National Councel: wherein all appeals from inferiour Synods might be received, all their Acts examined, and all Ecclesiastical Constitutions which concerne the state of the Church of the whole Nation established.

We are of the judgement That the form of Government here proposed is not in any point repugnant to the Scripture; and that the Suffragans mentioned in the second Proposition, may lawfully use the power both of Jurisdiction and Ordination, according to the Word of God, and the practice of the ancient Church.

JA. ARMACHANUS,
RICH. HOLDSWORTH.

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* Ἐπισκοποῦντες, id est, superintendentes; unde et nomen Episcopi tractum est, Hieron, epist. 86, ad Evagrium.

III.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

There was no inconsiderable amount of Presbyterianism in the New England churches in the middle of the 17th century. Henry M. Dexter (*Congregationalism*, p. 431) truly says :

"Thomas Parker and James Noyes—*par nobile fratrum*—who came over in 1634, and became Pastor and Teacher of the church in Newbury, were strongly inclined toward some of the views afterward held by the majority of the Westminster Assembly, and they did not hesitate to teach them. Difficulties arose, in consequence, in their own church, which, after years of inharmony, compelled the calling of council after council, and the interference of the civil authorities, before peace could be obtained. By the summer of 1643, when the Assembly was commencing its long session, there were other Elders in the Colony whose views inclined in the same direction, and another Synod was called to consider the subject. Winthrop's account of it is this :

"'There was an assembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country (about 50 in all), such of the ruling elders as would were present also, but none else. They sat in the college, and had their diet there after the manner of scholars common, but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for a person. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were chosen moderators. The principal occasion was because some of the elders went about to set up some things according to the presbytery, as of Newbury, etc. The assembly concluded against some parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments, etc.'

"What, after further consideration, the Newbury ministers thought of 'the arguments,' we are assisted to know by the treatise published by one of them four years later in London, entitled, The Temple Measured, etc. The friend who introduced this to the public, says Mr. Noyes, had 'drawn up and published these short notes,' for the reason that he found himself still unsatisfied 'upon conference had' with 'the Reverend Presbyters of that countrey.' Mr. Noyes's idea of the church of the Gospel, was of one which is to kept in good order by the power of the Presbytery within, and of Synods and Councils without."

The following letter of Mr. Parker presents his position:

The True copy of a letter written by Mr. Thomas Parker, a learned and godly minister, in New England, unto a member of the Assembly of Divines now at Westminster, Declaring his judgment touching the government practised in the churches of New England. London, 1644.

LOVING BROTHER:—My eyes do yet serve mee, though with much difficulty; and therefore I will spend some part of their last strength in writing a word or two unto you. I desire to mourn with you, for the sore afflictions of the church, and for those in particular which you have suffered, and my poore sister, and mother, with you. I hope the Lord doth beare up your hearts by faith and patience, and that you do rejoyce under hope of the glory that shall follow. He that shall come will come, according to promise. I presume you are in the number of those, which are gathered into a Synod now at London; and therefore I write unto you as being there.

I suppose you are so prepared and qualified by these present afflictions, beside all your learning and sufficiency of parts, that God will discover great things by you. I assure you wee have great need of help in the way of discipline, and wee hope that wee shall receive much light from you. My cousin *Noyse* and myself, have seen such confusion of necessity depending on the government which hath been practised by us here, that wee have been forced much to search into it within these two or three yeeres. And although wee hold a fundamentall power of government in the people, in respect of election of ministers, and of some acts in cases extraordinary, as in the want of ministers: yet wee judge, upon mature deliberation, that the ordinary exercise of government must be so in the Presbyters, as not to depend upon the expresse votes and suffrages of the people. There hath been a Convent, or meeting, of the ministers of these parts, about this question, at *Cambridge*, in the *Bay*; and there wee have proposed our arguments, and answered theirs; and they proposed theirs, and answered ours: and so the point is left to consideration. Also concerning admission of members, wee hold, the rule must bee so large, that the weakest Christians may bee received; and there was, according to appearance, much conjunction in this particular: Pray for us, as wee do for you.

From Newbury, in New England, December 17, 1643.

Your brother, true and faithfull in the Lord,

THOMAS PARKER.

A still later opinion is presented by James Noyes in his *Moses and Aaron*, London, 1661 :

"The militant Church of Christ, is one integral body visibly indued by Christ with Church power. The Apostles were Catholick members, not members of one particular Church more than another. And there is a Catholick Church power to make Catholick members" (p. 2). "Members of the Catholick Church, have immediate right to Church ordinances as occasion requires in opposition to necessary dependance on particular Churches for membership" (p. 19). "Election by common members, is not essentiall to the constitution of Elders" (p. 32). "In that I have formally supposed popular election so much necessary, and imposition of hands for little necessity, I now humbly impute it to my weaknesse in Judgement, as well as to my education, amongst such as were for the congregational way" (p. 38). "It is unlawful for common members to ordain elders" (p. 38). "Common members may not govern by suffrage together with their elders" (p. 42). "Elders are sent by Christ to preach the Gospel in way of office" (p. 56). "All elders are sent in way of office to preach to all the world as occasion serves" (p. 58). "All Elders are Elders to all Churches as occasion serves" (p. 59). "Some Elders may have superiority of jurisdiction over other Elders, according to Christ's institution" (p. 62). "For as much as the difference was not between Elders in power of order, but only in degree of Jurisdiction, it may be fully supposed to distinguish them, by calling the chief the Bishop, without any precise title of a different nature" (p. 67). "Ecclesiastical history is a sufficient witness of the practice, or *de facto*, and apostolical practice is a sufficient rule *de jure*. It seemes he that was called *Antistes præpositus*, the Bishop in a Presbytery, by process of time was only called Bishop, though all Elders are also according to their office essentially Bishops, and differing only in gradual jurisdiction, *multa renascuntur quæ nunc cecidere, cadentque*, God's power is glorified in reparations, etc., as well as in preparations" (p. 68).

The views of John Eliot are given in his privately printed *Communion of Churches: or the Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, Constituted in Order according to the Scriptures. As Also, The Way of bringing all Christian Parishes to be particular Reforming Congregationall Churches: Humbly proposed, as a way which hath so much light from the*

Scriptures of Truth, as that it may lawfully be submitted unto by all; and may, by the blessing of the Lord, be a means of Uniting those two Holy and Eminent Parties, the Presbyterian and Congregational. As Also to Prepare for the hoped-for Resurrection of the Churche; and to prepare a way to bring all Christian nations into an unity of the Truth and order of the Gospel. Written by John Eliot, Teacher of Roxbury in N. E. Cambridge 1665. There are but two copies of this book known to exist: one of them is in the Lenox Library, N. Y. City. Through the kindness of Geo. H. Moore, LL.D., we have been permitted to make the following extracts:

"Christ, who hath *all power*, Matth. xxviii. 20, hath derived all Ecclesiastical Power first unto the Apostles, that they by Institution might distribute the same unto several officers in the Church. Hence, as all Church-Officers, especially Elders, and more especially *Teaching Elders*, are ordinary successors of the Apostles, in their several branches of Church-power: So *Councils of Churches* are their eminent ordinary successors, in point of Counsel, and that in several respects" (p. 4.) "The Power of Ecclesiastical Councils is only Dogmatical or Doctrinal: Power of *Censure* is by the Lord fixed in the *Church;* and hence, when any appeal unto Council, it is for further and more clear light from the Scripture, and for conviction thereby, but not for the exercise of any Juridical Power" (p. 5).

I. "When Twelve churches or any number under Twenty-four shall agree to hold communion in a Council for mutual Help, and shall send forth messengers, at least *two* from every Church, and they of both orders of Elders, or in defect of *Ruling Elders*, *Brethren eminent in Piety and Wisdome*, who are as elders, to manage the Ordinance of *Counsel* in the behalf, and for the benefit of all the Churches herein combined: These do constitute the *first order* of a compleat *Council;* the *first Ascent* of the glorious temple; the first *Row* in compacting the *new Jerusalem*. It is both needful and attainable, that these Councils should meet at least once every moneth."

II. "When *Twelve* of the *first Order* of Councils, or any number under *Twenty-four*, shall, with the express consent of all their particular Churches, agree to hold Communion in a Council for *Mutual Help*, and for the benefit of all the Churches combined; and to that end, shall send forth from among themselves, at least *one* principal and eminent *Teaching Elder* and *one Ruling Elder*,

to manage the Ordinance of Counsel, in a Provincial Synod, in the behalf and for the benefit of all the Churches herein combined: These do constitute the *second order of Councils*. . . . . It is both needfull and attainable, that these should meet quarterly."

III. "When *Twelve Provincial Councils*, or any other number under *Twenty four*, with the explicite consent of the first Councils, and with the explicite consent of the *Churches*, who are in this Combination, agree to hold Communion in a *Council* for *Mutual Help;* and to that end, shall send forth from among themselves at least *one* principal *Teaching Elder* and *one Ruling Elder*, both eminent in holiness, wisdome, and all fitting abilities, to manage the Ordinance of *Counsel* in a *National Synod*, in the behalf, and for the benefit of all the *Provinces, first Councils*, and *particular Churches* herein combined: These do constitute a *Third order of Councils*. . . . . It will be both needful and attainable, that these should meet once in a year."

V. "When *Twelve National Councils*, or any number under *Twenty four*, shall agree, with the explicite consent of all the Churches, passing and arising through all the *Orders of Councils*, to hold Communion in Councils for *Mutual Help;* and to that end shall send forth, at least *one Teaching* and *one Ruling Elder*, men eminent in Holiness and Abilities for so high a service, to constitute an *Œcumenical Council*, and there to manage the Ordinance of *Counsel*, on the behalf, and for the benefit of all the *Churches* and *Councils* herein combined: These do constitute a *Fourth Order of Councils*. They are an *Œcumenical Council;* and represent all the Churches in those nations before the Lord." (pp. 14–16).

Thus Eliot magnifies the Presbyterian organization of the Church from the congregational eldership to the œcumenical Council. He differs from Westminster Presbyterianism chiefly in denying that the higher Presbyteries have "juridical power" over the lower.

Thomas Hooker, in his *Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline*, London, 1648, presents his points of agreement with Samuel Rutherford, thus:

"I do freely acknowledge to have received light therefrom: so I do professe I do readily consent with him in many things. In the number and nature of Officers, as Pastours, Teachers, Elders, etc. appointed by Christ in his church. That the people hath

right to call their own officers, and that none must be imposed upon them by Patrons and Prelates. That Scandalous persons are not fit to be members of a visible Church, nor should be admitted. That the faithfull Congregations in England are true Churches: and therefore it is sinfull to separate from them as no Churches. That the members which come commended from such Churches to ours here, so that it doth appear to the judgement of the Church, whence they come, that they are by them approved, and not scandalous, they ought to be received to Church communion with us, as members of other Churches with us in N. E. in like case so commended and approved. To separate from Congregations for want of some Ordinances: or, To separate from the true worship of God, because of the sin of some worshippers, is unlawfull. The Consociation of Churches is not only lawfull, but in some cases necessary. That when causes are difficult, and particular Churches want light and help, they should crave the Assistance of such a consociation. That Churches so meeting have right to counsell, rebuke, etc. as the case doth require. In case any particular Church shall walk pertinaciously, either in the profession of errour, or sinfull practice, and will not hear their counsell, they may and should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them. That Infants of visible Churches, born of wicked parents, being members of the Church, ought to be baptized. In these and severall other particulars, we fully accord with M. R."

Hooker then presents the distinguishing features of the New England churches:

"Visible Saints are the only true and meet matter, whereof a visible Church should be gathered, and confœderation is the form. The Church as *Totum essentiale*, is, and may be, before Officers. There is no Presbyteriall Church (i. e. A Church made up of the Elders of many Congregations appointed Classickwise, to rule all those Congregations) in the N. T. A Church Congregationall is the first subject of the keys. Each Congregation compleatly constituted of all Officers, hath sufficient power in her self, to exercise the power of the keyes, and all Church discipline, in all the censures thereof. Ordination is not before election. There ought to be no ordination of a Minister at large, Namely, such as should make him Pastour without a People. The election of the people hath an instrumentall causall vertue under Christ, to give an outward call unto an Officer. Ordination

is only a solemn installing of an Officer into the Office, unto which he was formerly called. Children of such, who are members of Congregations, ought only to be baptized. The consent of the people gives a causall vertue to the compleating of the sentence of excommunication. Whilst the Church remains a true Church of Christ, it doth not loose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away. Consociation of Churches should be used, as occasion doth require. Such consociations and Synods have allowance to counsell and admonish other Churches, as the case may require. And if they grow obstinate in errour or sinfull miscarriages they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them. But they have no power to excommunicate. Nor do their constitutions binde *formaliter* and *juridicè*. In all these I have leave to professe the joint judgement of all the Elders upon the river: of New-haven, Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield: and of most of the Elders of the Churches in the Bay, to whom I did send in particular, and did receive approbation from them, under their hands: of the rest (to whom I could not send) I cannot so affirm; but this I can say, That at a common meeting, I was desired by them all, to publish what now I do."

IV.

JOHN ELIOT'S DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND IN 1650.

In May, 1884, I was making researches for the present volume in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow, when my attention was called by the curator, Professor John Young, M.D., to a number of uncatalogued books and pamphlets. Among the pamphlets he showed me a few manuscripts. Among these I found the letter of Eliot which is now for the first time given to the public. Prof. Young kindly gave me permission to use it, and Mr. John Young, B.Sc., one of the assistant librarians, carefully copied it for me. The letter is without date, signature, or address. It seems to have been copied from an original, which has thus far escaped the attention of explorers, if indeed it is now in existence. A cursory examination disclosed its value, but not its authorship. A careful examination by the prin-

ciples of the Higher Criticism discloses its author and date. The value of the letter is very great, not only for the general survey of New England, at the time, but for the fresh information it gives with reference to certain towns, churches, and ministers, which were wrapt in uncertainty and obscurity as to their origin and actual condition at the time when this letter was written, in the spring of 1650.

The date of the letter may be approximately fixed by the following evidences: (1) In speaking of Roxbury it says: "Where Master Dudly, now Governor liveth Master Eliot is teacher, and Master Danfurth (by the good hand of the Lord upon us) is to be ordained pastor." Governor John Winthrop died March 26, 1649, and was succeeded by John Endicott May 2, 1649, and he by Thomas Dudley May 22, 1650. Samuel Danfurth was ordained September 24, 1650. This gives us the date within a few months. (2) In speaking of Cambridge it says: "Blessed Master Sheppard there pastor did lately dye, and they have not yet any other ordained, but Master Michell is elected their pastor, and shortly to be ordained." Thomas Sheppard died Aug. 25, 1649, and Jonathan Mitchell was ordained Aug. 21, 1650. This narrows the date to an interval of less than three months. (3) In speaking of Boston, it represents that "the ministers are Master Cotton teacher, and Master Wilson, is pastor." It knows nothing of the second church of Boston, which was organized June 5, 1650. (4) Mr. Blinman was pastor at Gloucester, Mass., when the letter was written. Mr. Blinman was at Gloucester in September, 1649, and at New London, Connecticut, in November, 1650. (5) Mr. Whitefield was at Guilford, Connecticut, when the letter was written. Mr. Whitefield removed to England in 1650. (6) Speaking of Weathersfield, Connecticut, it represents that the pastor, Master Smith, had lately died. "And they have called Mr. Russel an hopeful branch brought up in our college." Mr. Smith died in 1648, and Mr. Russel was installed in 1650.

From these evidences it is clear that the letter could not have been written earlier than May 22, 1650, or later than June 5, 1650. It seems most reasonable to place the date in the last week of May, 1650.

There are several traces of the author: (1) The author represents himself as sitting in his study at Roxbury. He was associated with Mr. Hooke, of New Haven, in some general work of

the Church, and they were to "communicate counsells." He speaks of Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson, of Boston, as more convenient for him to counsel with. The author was thus an eminent minister residing at Roxbury in 1649. He can be no other than John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians. And it is probable that he was to advise with others with reference to the work among the Indians under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, just organized in England. (2) He says that "Master Danfurth (by the good hand of the Lord upon us) is to be ordained pastor" at Roxbury. Danforth cannot be the writer. He was a young man whom Eliot anxiously expected to relieve him so that he could devote more time to labor among the Indians. He considered it as the good work of the Lord's hand that Danforth was soon to be ordained pastor. (3) The interest of the author in the Indians is clear from the following extracts: "Southwest from Dedham, seven miles is Natick, an Indian town, by the blessing of God now beginning" and "Martins Vineyard the island where Mr. Mahu is pastor and preacheth to the Indians which live in that island." (4) Speaking of Providence, he says: "Which town Mr. Williams first began, but there also they affect to have no minister, but is also a receptacle of many varietyes of opinions, Mr Williams spending his life in trucking with the Indians." This is a fine piece of irony, on the part of the apostle to the Indians, with reference to the heresiarch, Roger Williams.

These evidences seem to show with sufficient plainness that John Eliot was the author of the letter.

There are doubtless other facts mentioned in the letter which will serve to make the date still more definite. These we shall leave to the specialists in the History of New England. We also leave to such scholars the historical gain from the statements made in the letter.

Sr.:—

According to your desire heere is a breife topographicall description of the Seuerall Townes in new England with the names of our magistrats and Ministers:

The Massachusetts Bay is deepe and large, about: 13: myles from the Southend to the northend, bespoted with many Ilands, more then: 20, The channell at which all shipps (vsually) enter is allmost at the Southend, and at the uery enterance is a little Towne begun lately: named Hull, where there is yet noe min-

ister, within this Bay are many Townes, At the Southend is Hingham, where Master Itbbard is minister, Next Weymouth, where master Thatcher is minister. One the westside of this Bay are these Townes, Brantree to the Southermost, where master Thomson is pastor, master Flint teacher, Then Dorchester where mather is Teacher, and master wilson (the sonne of master wilson of Boston) is pastor. The next is Roxbury, where master dudly, now Gouernor. liueth, Master Elot is Teacher, and master Daufurth (by the good hand of the lord upon us) is to be ordained Pastor, In the bottome, or northend of this Bay is Boston our cheife hauen, where most shipps that come to this country, ride at anchor, the magistrats who liue there are master Bellingham and master Hibbens, the ministers are Master Cotton Teacher, And master Wilson is Pastor. On the same northend of the Bay, On the other side a water as broad as the thames at London, Is charlstowne, the next hauen-towne to Boston, and ye riuer betwixt these Townes, is the most frequent anchoring of Shipps, Master Nowell magistrate liueth there, And master Symes is Pastor, Master Allen Teacher, By charlsriuer west from Boston and charlstowne, about .3. or .4. myle is cambridge, where is seated Haruard colledge, master Dunster President, Blessed master Sheppard there pastor did lately dye, and they haue not yet any other ordained, but master Michell is elected there Pastor, and shortly to be ordained a little by the same riuer is watertowne where Master knowles is Pastor and Master Sharman Teacher; ten myles in land to the west and norwest from them lye .2. Townes on a riuer. which runeth North and South, Concord the most northerly where Master Flint magistrate liueth, and master Bulkley is Pastor. By streame southward lyeth Sudbury Where Mr. Browne is Pastor, West from Sudbury .16. myles lyeth nashaway, in land who want a Minister, And Southwest in land from Roxbury lyeth Dedham, where Mr Allen is Pastor, South west from Dedham, 7. myles is Natick a Indian Towne, by the blessing of God now begining, And upon a more Southene lyne .8. myles from Dedham is begining a new Plantation, called faire-meade, North-ward from charlstowne, 7 myles in land lyeth Woobourne, where Mr Carter is Pastor.

Againe north-northeast from charlstowne .3. myles lyeth Malden, who yet haue not a minister. setled, And .4. myles further on the same poynt lyeth Reading, where Mr Hoph is Pastor,— Northeast from charlstowne about .7. Myles lyeth lynn. which is

NEW ENGLAND IN 1650; ACCORDING TO THE DESCRIPTION OF JOHN ELIOT.

upon the Sea cost within the Bay, there the great Iron workes are, Mr Bridges Magistrate liueth there, and Mr Whiting is Pastor, Mr Cobbett Teacher. Nor North-east from them .4. Myles is Marblehead, a good fishing place, Mr Walton is Minister, A myle North from them layeth Sale, a uery Good harbour, Mr Endicot Deputy Gouernor liueth there, Mr Norice is Pastor, Six. myles Northward from them lyeth Wenham, Mr Fiske Pastor, Againe .6. myles Northeast from Sale, is a litle fishing Towne called Manchester where they want a Minister, And there a peynt runeth out eastward into the sea called Cape-ann, neere to the head whereof is a fishing towne called Gloster, Mr Blinmar is Pastor, On the Northside of that head land cometh forth the broad mouth of mirimack, On which riuer are Sundry townes the riuer runeth East and West, Next the mouth of that riuer lyeth Ipswich, which is .6. myles North from Wenham, Mr Symons Magistrate there liueth, Mr Nathaneel Rogers is Pastor, Mr Norton Teacher, .3. myles west of them lyeth Rowly, Where Mr Ezekiell Rogers is Pastor, from Rowley west ward :14. myles layeth Andeuer. where Mr Dane is Pastor, againe .4. myles Nor West from Rowley layeth newbery where Mr Parker is Pastor, and Mr Noyce Teacher, thence crossing the Broad mouth of Mirimacke which (as I Remember may be .3. times as broad as the thams at London) there lyeth Salsbury, Mr Wooster Pastor, about .5. or .6. myles up the northside the great riuer lyeth Hauerill (neere .ouer. against Andeuer) there Mr Ward is Pastor, about 7 myles from Salsbery Northward lyeth Hampton, where Mr Dalton and Mr Wheeleright are ministers, About .4. or .5. myles futher north is Exeter, "Where they want a minister," and that is at the head of Pascataway riuer, at the mouth whereof lyeth Douer where Mr Wiggen A magestrate liueth and Mr Mand is Pastor.—Some more places to the north are Inhabited, but they belong not to the Massachusetts Iurisdiction, nor doe I know them, Soe as to be able to name them, And these are the people under the Massachusetts Gouerment north and South, On the South, Plimouth pattent Bordereth with us, And there first towne lyeth Southeast :10: myles from Hingham, called Sitnate lying on the Sea, Mr Cancy is Pastor, And .4. myles Southward lyeth Marshfeild, Mr Bulkly is Pastor, 4 or .5. myles Southward layeth Duxbury, Mr Partridge Pastor, about .7. myles Southward, lyeth Plimouth, Mr Rayner Pastor, And the Gouernour Mr Bradford liueth, I name none other of there magistrats

Because I know not well where they Dwell, nor all there names; From Plimouth Southeast or more easterly putteth forth a uery long poynt of land into the Sea, the head whereof is called Cape-cod, which with cape-ann make the great Bay of New England alongst that necke of land are Seuerall Townes: Eastward .27. myles from Plimouth is Sandwich, Mr Leueredge is Pastor; Eastward 14. myles is Bastable, Mr Lothrop Pastor, Eastward .4. myles is Yarmouth Mr Miller Pastor, Eastward :11: myles Nauset is, Mr Mayo Pastor. On the Southside of this Necke of land ouer against Bastable or Sandwich, lyeth Martins Vinyard the Iland where Mr Mahu is Pastor, and Preacheth to the Indians which liue in that Iland all that coast Southward is full of Ilands, the most northerly part whereof is called the Marraganset Bay, where westward from Martins Vinyard Some leauges layeth Road Iland where they haue .2. Townes but noe Church nor Minister, nor doe they desire any that I heare of; Ouer against the north end of that Iland a pritty faire riuer emptieth it selfe in the sea upon which riuer about :20: myles is Taunton, about 30: miles west from Plymouth and about as much South from Boston, there Mr. Streete is Teacher, and Mr Hooke was Pastor, but is remooued to new hauen, more Southerly. Some leagues westward of that riuer, another such like riuer emptieth it selfe, neere the mouth where of lyeth Prouidence, which Towne Mr Williams first began, but there also they affect to haue no minister, but is also A receptacle of many varietyes of opinions, Mr Williams spending his life in trucking with the Indians, About .4. myles by that riuer is a town called Rehoboth, where Mr Newman is Pastor, and this layeth westward, From Taunton ouerland about :14: myles A great way Southward Upon that coast, I cannot say how many leagues (it may be 20) openeth the mouth of Pequot riuer, which is an Excellent harbour, and there Mr Iohn Winthrop. with others haue a towne begun, but yet want a minister, A few myles Southward openeth the great mouth of Conecticot riuer, at the mouth where of is a fort, and a church gathered this yeere, and Mr Fitch is Pastor the riuer runeth Northwest and Southeast, neere .40. myles up the riuer is a towne begun at a place called Mattabesett, but they haue noe minister :12: myles higher is weathersfeild where Master Smith there Pastor lately dyed, And they haue called Mr Russell an hopefull Branch brought up in our Colledge (as Sundry others fornamed haue beene) 3 myles up the riuer is Hartford, where

Mr Hooker latly dyed, And Mr Stone is Pastor, Vp a riuer 8 myles is a villedge where Mr Newton is Pastor 6. myles up the riuer lyeth Winsor, where Mr Wareham is Pastor, 20. myles up the riuer layeth Springfeild where Mr Moxon is Pastor, And this towne ouerland from the Bay layeth : 80 : or : 90 : myles South-west, and is the roade way to all the townes upon this riuer, and lye more Southward, This is all that is yet Possessed on that riuer,—Then along the South coast from the mouth of Conecticot . 18. myles layeth Gilford where Mr Whitefield is Pastor, and Mr Higgenson Teacher, Southward the same coast : 7 : myles lyeth Totocot, where Mr Peirson is Pastor, Southward . 7. myles lyeth Newhauen, where Mr Dauernport is Pastor, and Mr Hooke Teacher, and this towne ouerland from the Townes on Conecticot is betwixt : 30 : & : 40 : myles, So that the sea coast lyeth not due South but inclineth to the west, Onward the same Southerly coast, 8. myles lyeth Milford where Mr Prudden is Pastor, further more . 4. myles layeth stradford where Mr Blackman is Pastor, futher : 8 : myles lyeth fairefeild where Mr Iones is Pastor, further on the same Coast . 28 : myles lyeth Stamford where Mr Bishop is Pastor : 3 : myles Southward is a towne begining called Greenwich, westward : 7 : myles in land from Stauford is an other Towne begining, Not many leagues Southward is Hudsons riuer, where the Duch liue, All along this coast betwixt them and the maine sea stretcheth a uery long Iland, So called for the length, on which are seuerall townes which I know not ; the Southend whereof the Dutch challeng, this Iland, is about : 100 : myles long ; in the northerly end of this Iland lyeth Easthamton, Mr Iames is minister, The next towne Southwest : 20 : myles lyeth Southhamton, Mr Fordam, Minister. Southwest : 10 : myles lyeth Southhold Mr Yong Pastor, about . 50 : myles to the South-west-end : is Hempsted, where Mr Moore Preacheth ; a litle neerer the duch liueth the lady Moody an anabaptist & neere to that in the straight betwixt long Iland & the maine called Hellgate, neere which Place Ms Hutchinson liued and was slaine by the Indians.

—Thus worthy Sr haue you according to your request, a breife Description of New England, So well As I could sitting in my studdy, proiect it (neuer hauing seene manye Partyes of it) with the names of most of the townes, And Ministers therein, and by this you see at what a distance Mr Hooke at Newhauen and I at Roxbury liue and cannot communicate counsells, but I haue

wrot unto him and I doubt not but he will chuse Mr Cotton and Mr Wilson of Boston. to whom I am next neightbour, and we do weekely communicate counsells, You see also where Mr Wareham liueth, on Conecticot, But who euer would send any thing to any Towne in New England, the best way is to send it to Boston or Charlstowne for they are hauen Townes for all New England and Speedy meanes of conueyance to all places is there to bee had.

V.

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY.

I am indebted to the clerk of the New England Company, W. M. Venning, D.C.L., of London, for his kindness and courtesy in giving me valuable information with reference to this venerable Company, and also to the Governor and members of the Company for their kind response to inquiries, in the summer of 1884, in London:

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was the earliest of the Missionary Societies in Great Britain, in modern times. It was founded in 1649, by ordinance of the Long Parliament as a perpetual corporation called, "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." It was authorized to receive and dispose of monies in such manner as "shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating the Gospel among the natives, and for the maintenance of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the natives." A general collection was appointed by Parliament to be made in all the counties, cities, towns, and parishes of England and Wales, "for a charitable contribution to be as the foundation of so pious and great an undertaking." This collection amounted to nearly £12,000. It was invested in landed property at Eriswell, in Suffolk, and in a farm at Plumstead, in Kent, as well as in several houses in London. The property in Suffolk consisted of 7,000 acres. We have been informed, on the highest authority, that it was sold a few years ago to an East Indian prince for £120,000 for a hunting park. This and the other investments of the Society have made it a very wealthy corporation. Its name has been changed to "The

New England Company," and it is probably the richest missionary society in the world.

The movement which resulted in the organization of the Society was brought about by two influences, the one in Old England, the other in New England. The Puritans were urged to do something to Christianize the native American Indians so soon as they were brought in contact with them. In 1641, William Castel presented a petition to Parliament "for the propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for the settling of our plantations there." This was approved by the signature of seventy distinguished Puritan divines of England, and Alexander Henderson, and other worthies of Scotland. It was therefore a general missionary movement on the part of the Puritans. It was still further advanced by the marvellous zeal of John Eliot, the apostle of the Red men. The first account of Eliot's work was published in London, in 1643, "*New England's First Fruits*," and immediately attracted great attention. In 1646 Eliot began preaching to the Indians in their own tongue, and was very much encouraged. The results were reported to London in a series of tracts: "*The Day breaking if not the sun rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England*," London, 1647; "*The clear sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New England*," 1648; "*The glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*," 1649.

In 1648 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act for the encouragement of the work, and Eliot received financial aid from England. This was the immediate occasion of the organization of the first Missionary Society of Great Britain.

The corporation consisted of 16 persons. They at once appointed Commissioners in New England to look after their interests there. The work was conducted with great interest and enthusiasm during the Commonwealth period, and a series of tracts, reporting progress, were published in London: "*The light appearing more and more toward the perfect day*," etc., 1651; "*Strength out of weakness*," 1652; "*Tears of Repentance*," 1653; "*A late and further manifestation of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*," 1655; "*A further account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*," 1659; "*A further account*," etc., 1660. These tracts were published by the Society.

The Society was deprived of its charter at the restoration, and

Eliot fell into disfavor, but through the influence of Robert Boyle, Richard Baxter, and Henry Ashurst, its treasurer, a new charter was granted Feb. 7, 1661(2). The members of the Company were forty-five in number, including churchmen and dissenters. Lord Chancellor Clarendon and other noblemen were on the list. Robert Boyle was made the first governor. And many distinguished dissenters were associated with him. The charter was enlarged, and the Company was constituted "a Society or Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the parts adjacent in America."

"For promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Christ unto and amongst the heathen natives in or near New England, and parts adjacent in America; and also for nourishing, teaching, and instructing the said heathen natives and their children, not only in the principles and knowledge of the true religion, and in morality, and the knowledge of the English tongue, and in other liberal arts and sciences, but for the educating and placing of them or their children in some trade, ministry, or lawful calling."

Robert Boyle took a great interest in the Society. He gave them £300, and afterward in his will left them £100, and recommended his executors, that after all debts and legacies were paid, to use the greater portion of the balance "for the advancement of the Christian religion amongst Infidels." Commissioners in America were again appointed, including Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, and Eliot was aided in bringing out his translation of the Bible and other Indian books. The New Testament was printed in 1661, the Old Testament in 1663. He also translated Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," 1664; Bayley's "Practice of Piety," 1665. He also published an Indian Grammar in 1666, Indian Primer in 1669, Indian Dialogue 1671, Logick Primer 1672; Harmony of the Gospels, 1678. An *Indian Covenanting Confession* (without date), composed and published by Eliot, on a broad sheet was recently discovered in the Library of the University of Edinburgh by the librarian, John Small, M.A., and republished in Edinburgh, 1880. He also wrote the eleventh and last tract of New England, Indian Series, in 1671. "*A brief narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England in the year* 1670." Eliot resigned his charge at Roxbury in 1688, and died in 1690. Besides the work carried on by Eliot at Natick, the Society supported Thomas Mayhew's work at

Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, etc. A succession of Mayhews continued in the work of the Society for over 150 years. They also supported Mr. Bourne, John Cotton, and Mr. Hawley, in their work at Mashpee, 50 miles from Boston.

A considerable number of Indian churches were organized, and a native ministry established. A letter from New England in 1689 reports six churches of baptized Indians, 18 assemblies of catechumens, and 24 preachers. Ruling elders were associated with the ministers in conducting discipline. The ministers were ordained by Eliot and Cotton, by laying on of the hands and prayer after fasting.

The work of the Society was carried on in New England until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. The funds were then allowed to accumulate until 1786, when work was begun in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia. These funds had been considerably enlarged by the legacy of Dr. Daniel Williams, the eminent Presbyterian divine of London, who died January 26, 1715(6). The three funds, *e. g.*, the charter fund, the Boyle fund, and the Williams fund, were carefully invested, and their appropriation regulated by three decrees of chancery in 1836. The clause "adjacent parts" in the charter enabled them to abandon New England, and carry on the work in Canada.

Several grants have been made in the West Indies and elsewhere—but the work of the Society has been chiefly in Canada.

Their stations are as follows:

I. Near the Grand River, on the Reserve of the Six Nations: (1) Mohawk station, where there is a church, parsonage, and an educational institution for 45 children. (2) Tuscarora station, with a church and parsonage. (3) Kanyeageh station, with church and parsonage. (4) Cayuga station, with church and parsonage. II. On Rice and Chemung Lakes, with a church at Chemung, and parsonage and school-house. III. In British Columbia. The work was begun here in 1870. There is a mission-house and a farm on Kuper Island, about five miles from Vancouver Island. These missions are now prosecuted by the New England Company, with the income of the immense endowments of the three original trust funds. So far as we can learn, the Society makes no appeals for contributions for the work they have in hand; but limit themselves to a wise management of the trust committed to them. (See *Sketch of the Origin and Recent History of the New England Company.* By the Senior Member of the Company. London, 1884.)

VI.

ORDER FOR THE REINSTATEMENT OF THOMAS HARRISON.

To the Governor of Virginia.

Sir:

We are informed by the petition of some of the people of the congregation of Nansemond in Virginia that they had long enjoyed the benefit of the ministry of Mr Harrison who is an able man and of unblamable conversation who hath been banished by you for no other cause but for that he would not conform himself to the use of the Common prayer book. Wee know you cannot be ignorant that the use of the Common prayer book is prohibited by the Parl. of England And therefore you are hereby required to permit the same Mr Harrison to return to his said congregation to the exercise of his ministry there unless there be such sufficient cause as shall be approved of the Parl. or this council when the same shall be represented unto us. Of your compliance herein we expect to receive an account from yourself of the first opportunity. Whitehall Oct 11. 1649.

(*Letter Book Council of State. Rolls Office. Domestic Interregnum* No. 115, pp. 482–3.)

VII.

MATTHEW HILL'S CERTIFICATE OF ORDINATION.

"For as much as the Lord Jesus Christ, the great apostle of our profession, has judged it meet that there should be a succession of pastors and teachers, in his church, even unto the end of the world, for the edifying of his body, until it come unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of his fulness; and hath deputed the care of the continuation of this ministerial office, unto such as have been already called thereunto, requiring them to commit the things they have received unto faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also: We the ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over part of his flock in the city of York, with the assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the service of the church in this its necessity, having received credible testimony under the hands of divers ministers of the gospel and others, of the sober, righteous and

godly conversation of Matthew Hill M. A. and preacher of the gospel at Helaugh, as also, concerning his gifts for the ministry, have proceeded to make further tryal of his fitness for so great a work; and being in some good measure satisfied concerning his piety and ability, have upon the 23rd day of June. A D. 1652 proceeded solemnly to set him the said Matthew Hill apart unto the office of a Presbyter and work of the ministry, by laying on our hands with fasting and prayer: By the vertue whereof we do esteem and declare him a lawful minister of Christ, and hereby recommend him to the church of Christ and more especially unto the people of Helaugh aforesaid, that they would receive him as a minister of the gospel, loving, honouring, and obeying him in the Lord In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, this 24 day of June 1654 Nathaniel Jackson, Edward Bowles, Thomas Calvert." (Calamy, *Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of colleges and schoolmasters who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration in* 1660. London, 1713; 2d edition, vol. II., p. 832.)

VIII.

MATTHEW HILL'S LETTER TO RICHARD BAXTER, 1669.

MARYLAND, CHARLES COUNTY,
April 3, 1669.

For the Rev. Mr.
Richard Baxter at
his home in Acton near London.

Honered Sir

I should not have made so bold with your precious time designed for better uses than the perusal of so mean a paper as this, but that I could not furnish myself with any other means of testifying the due thankfulness that I bear within my breast for your singular kindness and consideration to one of my meanness. I cannot but acknowledge that your bounty found me under a great deal of misery as well as meanness and hath been instrumental in putting of me into a capacity of living comfortably and as I hope serviceably too: the Lord I hope will place it to your account. I am sure that the blessing of him that was ready to perish doth reach you though at this distance, what you have lost in your purse I hope you will regain in a better place. Sir I

am afraid to trouble you with any discourse concerning myself. Only I cannot but judge it my duty to be accountable for what I either am or have to sue from whom I have received the means of my new life and livelihood and particularly to yourself. Divine goodness hath been pleased to land my foot upon a province of Virginia called Maryland which is a province distinct from the government of Virginia, of which the Lord Baltimore is proprietor and governor. Under his lordships government we enjoy a great deal of liberty and particularly in matters of religion. We have many that give obedience to the church of Rome who have their public liberty, our governor being of that persuasion; We have many also of the reformed religion who have a long while lived as sheep without a shepherd though last year brought in a young man from Ireland who hath already had good success in his work. Divine providence hath also cast my lot amongst a loving and a willing people and we enjoy our public opportunity with a great deal of freedom, that which, as I hope, will make my work the more successful, is, the people are not at all fond of the liturgy or ceremonies. In so much as I have not yet heard any one with whom I have to do, to speak a word for them. The people called Quakers have gained a great many proselytes in this place, but their doctrine or devise rather hath lately decayed, very much of itself and is now quite dead and buried. Their very liberty hath been their ruin. We have room for more ministers, though their encouragement as I judge cannot be altogether as great as ours who are already settled; because we are where the people and the plantations are the thickest. It is judged by some that are acquainted with the state of the people better than myself that two or three itinerary preachers that have no dependence upon the people for maintenance would be eminently instrumental among them, though the people themselves, if I mistake not, are naturally of free dispositions and kind to their ministers and would take off that charge from such as should be willing to undergo it in a very short time. How many young men are there in England that want wages and work too. We cannot but judge it their duty to come over and help us. Sir I hope your own inclination will be advocate enough to plead the cause of this poor people and engage you to improve your interest on our behalf with some of our brethren in the work of the Lord. As to myself I have not yet done begging. My books when I was in England were too few to buy

me food; and as we have not the opportunity, so I cannot but acknowledge I have not the ability as yet of purchasing such books as are useful and necessary for my work. I humbly beg of you that you will please to supply me with a few of such as you judge meet for my use; and if that be any argument, I dare plead that after this time, I hope I have done begging. The young gentleman, the bearer hereof, is also to give you a full account of our country and the state of our affairs, whom I have engaged to wait upon you with this, and to attend your commands if you shall be pleased to honour me with what returns you shall think fit to give to my request. He is kinsman to Dr. Whitchcote and of the same name. I was much beholden to Mr. Davy and his good lady for their bounty towards me at my coming from England, which I could not but make mention of, because your letter to them and interest in them, was so successful an advocate for me to my no small advantage. I may justly say, I came with my staff only over the great waters; and now the Lord hath blessed me with more than my heart durst wish, for which, as I desire to bless the Lord first, so I cannot but acknowledge my humble and hearty thankfulness to your self as mainly instrumental in my present liberty and livelihood. So I humbly entreat your favorable interpretation of this my freedom, which I assure you my present necessity enforces me to. My hopes of outward maintenance, or of being able to purchase any thing that I want of myself not being likely to be accomplished until our harvest for tobacco which is the only current money of our province. I hope your goodness will give your poor orator the freedom of begging from you the favour to represent my condition to some of your brethren or friends to whom God hath given ability and hearts to help those that stand in need of their help. I dare give you no further trouble, only by acknowledging myself honored Sir

Your humble servant and unworthy fellow laborer in the work of the gospel MATTHEW HILL.

The above letter was discovered by the author in the summer of 1884, in Dr. Williams' Library, London, among the *MS.* Correspondence of Richard Baxter.

IX.

THE EARLY LIFE AND TRAINING OF FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

Francis Makemie was born near Ramelton, Ireland. He is enrolled as a student at the University of Glasgow, in the third class, Feb., 1675(6).

The Minutes of the Presbytery of Laggan, Ireland (in the McGee College, Londonderry,) have the following records: "May 20, 1680, the meeting appoint Mr Robert Campbell and William Liston to speak to Mr Fran. is McKemy and Mr Alex. Marshall and to enquire about their studies and to encourage them in these and make report to the meeting. July 7, 1680 Mr Francis McKemy and Mr Alex. Marshall are recommended to the brethren that are to be at Raigg communion, to speak to them about their studies and knowledge in divinity and also these brethren are to call them to an account for afterwards from time to time, till they be satisfied and clear to present the business to the meeting. Aug. 11, 1680, Mr John Hoart and Robt Campbell are appointed to take some inspection of Mr Alex. Marshalls studies and Mr Thomas Drummond and William Liston to do the like to Mr. Francis McKemy. Sept. 29, 1680, Mr William Liston reports that Mr Francis Mackemy desires some more time and that he is diligent. Dec. 29, 1680, Mr John Hoart, R° Campbell and Wm Liston are appointed to meet together and to try and examine the progress of Mess. Alex. Marshall & Francis MacKemy in their studies, and if they find them fit to be presented to the meeting for trials, that then they desire the young men to be at the next meeting. Feb. 2, 1680 (1) the young men Mess. Francis MacKemy and Alex Marshall have not yet been tried by Mess. Hoart, Campbell and Liston: that business is still left upon them. Mch. 9, 1680 (1) Upon the good report we get of Mrs. Francis MacKemy and Mr Alexander Marshall, the meeting think fit to put them upon trials in order to their being licentiated to preach and they name I. Tim. I. 5, to Mr Mackemy. April 20, 1681 Francis Mackemy delivered his homily upon I. Tim. I. 5, and was approved. Matth xi. 28 was appointed to him for the next meeting and a common place *de Antichristo*. May 25, 1681, Mr Francis Mackemy delivered his private homily on Matth. xi. 28, and was approved." The last entry in the book prior to the blank is July 31, 1681: "The meeting see fit to lay aside their ordinary business at this extraordinary meeting, only we will, if

time permit, hear the exegeses of the two young men who are upon their trials." The blank continues until Dec. 30, 1690. During this interval, probably in the autumn of 1681, Makemie was licensed. He preached for Mr. Hempton, in Burt, Ireland, April 2, 1682. After appropriate trials, in 1682 he was ordained to go out to America. It is probable that he was inclined thereunto by William Traill, who was moderator of the last meeting of the Presbytery, July 21, 1681, and who was its most influential member, and who went thither himself. Makemie himself gives an account of his ordination in his Answer to Keith's *Libel against a Catechism published by Francis Makemie*, Boston, 1694, p. 24: "Ere I received the imposition of hands in that scriptural and orderly separation unto my holy and ministerial calling, that I gave requiring satisfaction to godly, learned and judicious discerning men, of a work of grace and conversion wrought in my heart at fifteen years of age, by and from the pains of a godly schoolmaster, who used no small diligence in gaining tender souls to Gods service and fear."

X.

LETTERS OF FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

There are six letters of Francis Makemie, which are known to us. The first of these was written from the Elizabeth River, Virginia, July 22, 1684, to Increase Mather. This is preserved in the Mather Papers, V. 70, in Boston Public Library. The second is also from the Elizabeth River, July 28, 1685, to Increase Mather. It is preserved in the Prince Collection, 1686–1720, p. 57, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. These are both given by Webster (in *l. c.*, pp. 297–8), but so inaccurately that I have secured fresh copies. The third is the long letter from the Barbadoes, Dec. 28, 1696, printed at Edinburgh, under the title *Truths in a True Light*, etc. The only copy known is in the Library of Harvard College. The Librarian has kindly furnished us with a transcript, but it is too long for us to publish here. The fourth letter is from Barbadoes, Jan. 17, 1697(8), and the fifth from the same place, Feb. 12, 1697(8), both to Increase Mather. These I have copied from transcripts in possession of Dr. George H. Moore, Superintendent of the Lenox Library, N. Y. These are from Vol. LVII., p. 61, of the Massachusetts Archives. The sixth letter, the most important of all, is

from Philadelphia, March 28, 1707, to Benjamin Colman. It was published by E. D. Neil, in his *Terra Mariæ*, pp. 195–6; then in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, V., p. 228. The precious original is in the possession of D. McN. Stauffer, of New York, who, with singular kindness and courtesy, has granted me the privilege of copying the original.

ELIZABETH R. VIRGINIA 22 July —84

R. & d. B.

I wrote to you tho unacquaint, by Mr. Lamb from North Carolina, of my designe for Ashly [R. So]uth Carolina, which I was soe forward in accomplishing th[at I en]gaged in a voyage, and went to sea in the moneth of May bu[t god] in his providence saw it fitt that I should nott see it, att this time; for wee were beate upon the coast by contrary winds, and to the North as far as Delaware bay, for five weeks together, soe that falling short in our provisions were necessitated, after severall essayes to the South, to Virginia, and in the meane while, Collonell Anthony Lawson, and other inhabitants of the Parish of Linhaven, in lower Norfolk County, who had a dissenting Minister formerly from Ireland untill the Lord was pleased to remove him by death, in August last, among whom I preached, before I went to the South, in coming from Maryland, against their earnest importunity, coming soe pertinently to the place of our landing for water, renuing their suits, prevailed with me to stay this season, which the more easily overcame me, considering the season of the yeare, and the litle encouragment I found for Carolina from the sure information I have had. But for the satisfaction of my friends in Ireland, whom I designe to be very nice in inviting to any place of America I have yet seen, I have sent one of our number to acquaint me further concerning the place. I am here assured of liberty, and other encouragments, resolving to submitt to the soveraigne providence of gd who has been pleased very unexpectedly to drive me back to this poor desolate people, among whom I desire to continue untill god in his providence determine otherwise concerning me. I have presumed a second before I can heare how acceptable my first has been. I hope this will prevent your writting to Ashly R. and determine your resolution in directing your letters to Coll. Anthony Lawson, att the Eastern branch of Elizabeth R. I expect if you have an oppurtunity of writting to Mr. Iohn Hart, you will acquaint him

concerning [m]e; which with your prayers, and advice will oblidge him who is your deare, and affectionate brother in [the] gospell of our Lord Jesus. ffrancis Makemie.

The bearer Mr Wilson will be a safe bearer.

To The reverend Mr Increase Mather Minister of the Gospell att Bostone n. England, These

(2).

ELIZA. R., 28 July, 1685.

Honoured Sir:—

Yours I received by Mr. Hallet with three books, and am not a little concerned that those now sent to Ashley R were miscarried, for which, I hope it will give no offence, to declare my willingness to satisfy; for there is no reason they should be lost to you, and far less that the gift should be reiterated for which I am oblidged to own myself your debtor. And assure yourself if you have any friend in Virginia, to find me ready to receive your commands. I have wrote to Mr. Wardrope, and beg you would be pleased to order the safe conveyance thereof unto his hands. I have likewise wrote a line to one Mr. Thomas Barret, a minister who lived in S. Carolina, who, when he wrote to me from Ashley R., told me that next week was to take shipping for N. E., so that I conclude he is with you. But, if there be no such man in the country, let me letter be returned.

I am yours in the Lord Jesus,

ffrancis Makemie.

(3).

BARB. Jan 17. 169$\frac{7}{8}$

Reverend Sr

Yours, with your mentioned tokens, p. Capt. White I have received, for which I thanke you, and shall not be unmindfull, of a gratefull return, p. Capt Green, your son in law.

This comes to inform you of our great and unexpected disappointment, by your son, Mr Samuel, his not coming to Barbados, after so full purposes and frequent resolutions and wonder at your people who return from this Jsland with magnifyed news, of our sicknesse, and that of purpose, to discourage any ministers coming hither from N: E: which I am constrained to impute to nothing else but their unwillingnesse that any of you should come hither to behold, and remark, the lives, carriage, and conversation of some new England men, in Barbados, which I am informed, are vastly different, from what they appeare in N.

England: And whatever discouraging reports has been or shall be carryed to you, upon this account, I confidently affirm, that Barbados does now, and has for severall moneths past enjoyed, more peace, plenty, and health, then it enjoyed since our late Revolution, and I am willing to beleeve that as our visitation by sicknesse came in by the war, so God will remove it by a peace, for tho we have of late had, and yet have as great, if not much greater concourse of strangers, and sailors on this island, then has been formerly observed, and yet very healthy, and no greater mortality, then in other healthy places of the world, many instances might be given to obviate what you have heard, of not one in three, escaping with life, even from many N. E: ships, particularly Capt. ffoster lately sailed for London, who had been here, for many months, had a considerable number of hands, in a large ship, and assured me, he lost not one man by sicknesse, tho many of them pressed aboard men of war, which has been the continued grave for sailers, who have fallen most by the sicknesse of this place.

If this reach your hands, to undeceive you, and other friends, who have disuaded your son from Barbados before he sail for London, I shall be necessitated to leave this people, and many strangers, who resort to this Island desolate, being purely confined these two yeares from going off for my health, for want of supply; and as to particular visitations by mortality N. England, London, and all other places, as lyable as Barbados.

Ld. Bellamont your Governour, beat of the coast of N. Yorke, and arrived at Barbados, and being from Ireland and having knowledge of some of his relations, and since I was capable of knowing anything, heard an honourable character of *his father Sr Ch. Coot, a zealous Parliamentarian,* and a terror to the Irish, I presumed to pay my respects to him and was admitted to familiar conversation; *our President Bond, a lover and admirer of N. England,* blesses God in your behalf, that he has put it into the heart of our king to pitch upon such a man, for N: E and I am really persuaded, he is a loyall subject, a true Protestant, and a moderate man; and *in this juncture, a fitter man, of his quality, scarse could be had in England for that Post,* excepting the infirmity of his body, by the Gout.

I took the freedome, when alone to assure his Lship if he would protect and countenance N. E. in their Religion and Liberty, he would be happy in that Government, and he assured me

of all moderation on that account. I expect fresh opportunityes of further accesse to his L^dship, which I shall endeavor to improve in favour of N. E: and communicate what occurs to you, and present subscribe myself.

Your assured friend, humble servant, tho unworthy

I was long since convinced the Carlysle Dove was a cunningly contrived cheate.

Brother ffrancis Ma.

(4).

Barbados ffeb. 12 169⅞

Reverend Sr

This comes by Capt Green, to informe you I wrote at large, by way of Saltetudos, concerning our disappointment in our expectation of your son Mr Samuel, since which time severall families of my hearers are resolving off for Europe Sr accept a small token of the product of our island, from

Your humble servant and unworthy B |

I. M. A small barrell mixed preserves . | . .

[Superscribed]. To The Reverend Mr Increase Mather at Boston These

p Capt Green Q: D: G:

(5).

PHILADELPHIA, March 28, 1707.

Mr. Benjamin Colman.

R^d Brother. Since our imprisonment we have commenced a correspondence with our R^d Brethren of the Ministry at Boston, which we hope, according to our intention, has been communicated to you all, whose Sympathising concurrence, I cannot doubt of, in our expensive Struggle, for asserting our liberty, against the powerful invasion of L^d Cornbury, which is not yet over.

I need not tell you, of a pick^d Jury, and the penall laws are invading our American Sanctuary, without the least regard to the Toleration, which should justly alarm us all. I hope Mr. Campbell, to whom I direct this for the more safe Conveyance, has shown or informed you, what I wrote last.

We are so far, upon our return home; tho' I must return for a finall Tryall which will be very troublesome and expensive. And

we only had liberty, to attend a Meeting of Ministers we had formerly appointed here; and were only Seven in number, at first, but expect a growing number: Our design is to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures, for advancing religion, and propagating Christianity, in our Various Stations, and to mentain Such a Correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our Ministeriall ability by prescribing Texts to be preached on by two of our number at every meeting, which performance is Subjected to the censure of our Brethren; our Subjeet is Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, I and another began and performed our parts on vs. 1, 2, and the 3 is prescribed to Mr. Andrews and another If any friends write, direct to Mr. J^{n} Bud at Philadelphia, to be directed to me in Virginia. Pardon S^{r} this diversion from

Your humble Servant, and Brother in the
Worke of the Gospell,
ffrancis Makemie.

XI.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE, WITH HIS LETTER FROM PORTSMOUTH, N. H., 1690.

Benjamin Woodbridge was son of John Woodbridge, pastor of Andover, Mass.; brother of John Woodbridge, pastor of Wethersfield, Conn., and of Timothy Woodbridge, pastor of Hartford, Conn. He was pastor at Windsor, Conn., from 1668–1680, of a party who were dissatisfied with Mr. Chauncy, who had been called by the majority of the church. They were both dismissed by order of the court. The two parties then united in one church. He is probably the Mr. Woodbridge mentioned in a letter of Joshua Moody from Portsmouth, N. H., in 1683. It is probable that he supplied that church during the troubles of its pastor with the arbitrary authorities. He supplied the church at Bristol from 1684–86, but the people could not unite upon him. (*Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV., Vol. 8, pp. 463, 651–655; *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, New Haven, 1861, p. 513.) He was again supply at Portsmouth, N. H., in 1690, and from thence writes the following interesting letter, dated April 2, 1690. This letter I discovered, in the summer of 1884, in the *Rolls Office*, London:

Right reverend Father in God

I presume it hath not been altogether unknown to your Lordship, how god hath let loose the heathen upon us in these parts of the world, which hath been to the destruction of many amongst us, and the impoverishing of all. It is an year and halft agoe, and somewhat upward since these troubles began amongst us, and are now strengthened by the Frenchs joining with, supplying and encouraging them; and they have made a desolating incursion and inroad upon us lately; by a mixt company of ffrench and Indians; so that our land and more especially these eastern parts of it, are greatly distressed and it may be said of us in great measure as of Israel of old, mentioned Judg: 6: 2: 4: 6: Such is your Lordships piety and charity that it hath sounded to New England, and the fame thereof come to our ears; which hath emboldened me to present the necessities and distresses of this poor Eastern people in New England (occasioned by the calamityes of a desolating war), to be considered by your Lordships pious charity; not doubting but that under your Lordships influence and countenance, many of gods people there will have their hearts open, to relieve the extream necessities, that many already, and more speedily, are like to be under (in that sowing and planting in these parts is like to be interrupted). There is doubtless a number with you, that count it an advantage and comfort with him of old, to have the blessing of those that are ready to perish to come upon them; and such are the sufferings of these I beg for, that I may truly say their loins will bless their benefactors. There needs, I confesse some great apology, that I and I alone, such a stranger, so remote, so unknown, so inconsiderable, should venture upon such a petition to your Lordship; I would beg that my boldness herein, may be vailed with that, that I being neare the seat of the present war and calamity, I may have more sense and feeling of there sufferings, then others at a greater distance, and that it is the cause of Christ in his members that I beseech for. It is like New Englands name may sound low, in those parts of the Christian world, and I may say deservedly, yet it is a truth that God hath his number here, that would do no iniquity. And I hope this awful judgment, that they now ly under, wil have some influence to work the reformation that we need.

I had thought to have directed these few lines, or this concerne not only to your Lordship but also to the Rev Doctor Burnett

and the Rev Dr Stillingfleet who are noted in these parts of the world; but I chuse rather to leave it with your Lordship, not doubting (but if your Lordship favour it) you have instruments enough at your command to promote it, so as to attaine its end. If it please the most high to incline the hearts of any to pitty and relieve a wilderness suffering people so remote; if it be sent over whether in provision or in clothing it may answer the end, for some are exposed not only to hunger, but to nakedness: and if it could arrive here before winter, it would be the right season, and doubly welcome. Ships from England are mostly bound for Boston; but a transport from thence hither is easy. Mr Nathanael Fryar and Mr Robert Eliot of Portsmouth on Piscataqua river would be meet and faithful persons to distribute it, to supply the necessities of those for whom it is beg'd. Beseeching your Lordships favourable and candid acceptance of this request for poor suffering ones, I remain

Your Lordships to be commanded in any service of Christ

BENJ: WOODBRIDGE

From Porthsmouth on
Piscataqua river
in New England April 2, 1690.

XII.

NINIAN BEAL'S DEED OF LAND FOR THE PATUXENT CHURCH.

Col. Ninian Beal was the venerable elder of the Presbyterian Congregation on the Patuxent, overlapping Matthew Hill and Nathaniel Taylor, the chief pastors of the Puritan flock on the Patuxent from 1668 to 1710. In November, 1704, Col. Beal deeded a plot of ground for the erection of a church. This deed was discovered, in the early winter of 1884, at Marlboro, by the Rev. J. W. McIlvaine, of Baltimore, who has kindly given the following copy for publication:

November Court. 1704

Ninian Beall to Nathan[l] Taylor } To all Christian peoples to whom these presents shall come, I, Ninian Beall, of Prince George's County in the Province of Maryland send greeting Know ye that I the said Ninian Beall being of a good and perfect mind and without any ffraud or de-

ceit for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving but more especially for ye propogation of ye gospel of Christ Jesus have given granted and confirmed and by these presents doo ffreely voluntarily and absolutely give grant and confirm unto Nathaniell Taylor Minister of ye Gospel and to Robert Bradly, James Stoddard, John Battie, Archibold Edmunson, Thomas Beall Senior, Thomas Beall Junior, Ninian Beall Junior, Charles Beall, Christopher Thompson, Joshua Hall, John Browne, John Henry, James Beall, Alexander Beall, William Ophett, John Soaper, and to their successors for ye erecting and building of a House for ye Service of Almighty God, That parcell of Land, being a part of a Tract of Land called the meddows lying on ye western Branch of the Patuxant River in Prince George's County Beginning (here follows a description of the measurements of the tract—so many perches, etc., which are not easy to make out) containing half an acre of land be it more or less To Have and to Hold ye said land and tenament unto the said Nathanl Taylor, Robert Bradly, James Stoddard, John Battie, Archibold Edmunson, Thomas Beall Senior, Thomas Beall Junior, Ninian Beall Junior, Charles Beall, Christopher Thompson, Joshua Hall, John Browne, John Henry, James Beall, Alexander Beall, William Ophett, John Soaper, and to their successors for . . . . [illegible] their own proper use for ye aforesaid use and no other from the day of the date to hold for ever peaceably quietly without any manner of reclaim of me ye Said Ninian Beale — — and I, ye said Ninian Beale have put ye Said Nathl Taylor, Robert Bradly, James Stoddard, John Battie, Archibold Edmunson, Thomas Beall Senior, Thomas Beall Junior, Ninian Beall Junior, Charles Beall, Christopher Thompson, Joshua Hall, John Browne, John Henry, James Beall, Alexander Beall, William Ophett, John Soaper, in to peaceable possession by the delivery of a piece of money called six pence — — I have paid and delivered unto ye said Nathaniell Taylor in behalf of himself and the rest of the above named persons this day and date thereof. In witness of which I have hereunto set my hand and seals ye 20th day of November Anno 1704.

Ninian Beall

Signed, sealed and Delivered in the presence of us
John Wight
Saml Magruder

Att a Prince George's County Court called and held ye 23d day of November, Anno Dom. 1704 for our Sovereign Lady Ann by the grace of God Queen of England &c (the royal titles).

XIII.

SEPARATION OF THE BAPTISTS FROM THE PRESBYTERIANS IN PHILADELPHIA, 1698.

It seems that for several years, from 1695 to 1698, the Presbyterians and Baptists of Philadelphia worshipped together in the Barbadoes store, hearing such ministers of either denomination as might be at hand, in alternate meetings. Soon after the arrival of Jedediah Andrews a misunderstanding arose which brought about a separation.

Morgan Edwards, in his *Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1770, pp. 104 *seq.*, gives the following account of it:

"The baptists of Philadelphia did hold their worship at a store house on Barbadoes lot whither the few presbyterians, then in town, did resort to hear baptist ministers; and where they were received with courtesy & brotherly love for the space of about three years. Within that time the latter increased, and had a minister of their own, and then soon began to discover an unwillingness that baptist ministers should preach in the house any longer, though the baptists had a better right to it because of prior occupancy; and further than occupancy neither could lay claim thereto, the building being the property of traders who had quitted the town. The following papers relate to the affair, and may be depended upon, as they are extant in the handwriting of Rev. John Watts:

'Upon the request of some friends about the 2d month, in 1695, John Watts had consented to preach at Philadelphia every other Lord's day, and had so continued to do to this time (1698), unless prevented by a hand of providence; and divers of the persons who came to that assembly were presbyterians in judgment (they having no minister of their own, and we having hitherto made no scruple of holding communion with them in the public worship of God and common duties of religion nor of admitting their ministers, if at any time they came amongst us, to pray and preach in our assemblies). But being now provided with a minister from New england there appearing some scruples on their side, as not being willing to condescend so far to us as to allow our ministers the like liberty. For our better satisfac-

tion touching their judgment on this point, and for the preservation of love and unity we wrote to them as follows:

'To our dear and well beloved friends and brethren Mr Jedediah Andrews, John Green, Joshuah Story, Samuel Richardson and the rest of the presbyterian judgment belonging to the meeting in Philadelphia; the church of Christ, over which John Watts is pastor, sends salutation of grace, mercy and peace from God our father and from our lord Jesus Christ. Dearly beloved! . . . . We do freely confess and promise for ourselves that we can and do own and allow of your approved ministers who are fitly qualified and sound in the faith and of holy lives to pray and preach in our assemblies, If you can also freely confess and promise for yourselves that you, can and will own and allow of our approved ministers, who are fitly qualified and sound in the faith and of holy lives to preach and pray in your assemblies; that so each side may own, embrace and accept of one another as fellow brethren and ministers of Christ, and hold and maintain christian communion and fellowship.

Signed JOHN WATTS,
SAMUEL JONES,
GEO. EATON,
THOMAS BIBB,
THOMAS POTTS,

30th of 8th month 1698.

The following letter was written in reply:

To the church of Christ, over which Mr. John Watts is pastor, we, whose names are under-written, do send salutation in the name of our Lord Jesus:—

BRETHREN AND WELL-BELOVED:

Forasmuch as some of you, in the name of the rest, have in a friendly manner sent us your desire of uniting and communing in the things of God, as far as we agree in judgment, that we may lovingly go together heavenward, we do gladly and gratefully receive your proposal, and return you thanks for the same; and bless God who hath put it in your minds to endeavour after peace and concord, earnestly desiring that your request may have a good effect, which may be for the edification of us all, that we may the more freely perform mutual offices of "love one towards another" for our furtherance in Christianity. But that we may do what we do safely, and for our more effectual

carrying on our forementioned desire, we have thought it might be profitable for us all, and more conducive to our future love and unity, that we might have some friendly conference concerning those affairs before we give you a direct answer to your proposition, which we have confidence you will not deny. And in pursuance hereof we do request that some of you (who you think best) may meet with us, or some of us, at a time and place which you shall appoint, that what we agree upon may be done in order.

Subscribed, in the name of the rest, Philadelphia, November 3, 1698.

JEDEDIAH ANDREWS,
JOHN GREEN, SAMUEL RICHARDS,
DAVID GIFFING, HERBERT CORRY,
JOHN VAN LEAR, DANIEL GREEN.

The conference was appointed for the 19th of the 9th month, at the common meeting house. But by a misunderstanding the conference did not meet. The Baptists were there, but the Presbyterians failed; and accordingly the Baptists were offended, and they subsequently remained apart. Nov. 19, 1698, the Baptists write: "Forasmuch as we missed of our expectation of meeting and conferring with you after your requesting it; and considering what the desires of divers people are and how they stand affected, and that we are not like to receive answer to our reasonable proposition, necessity constrains us to meet apart from you till such time as we receive an answer and are assured that you can own us so as we can do you."

JOHN WATTS,
SAMUEL JONES,
EVAN MORGAN.

XIV.

THE LONDON GENERAL FUND OF 1690.

Through the kindness of the Trustees of the Presbyterian Fund of London, and especially of W. D. Jeremy, Esq., the esteemed secretary, I am able to give the following account of the origin of the Fund, from the original minutes. The Trustees of the Congregational Fund also gave me free access to their minutes. To these minutes the readers are indebted for many important facts recorded in this volume.

The United Body of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, July 1st, 1690, established a Fund for the training of students for the ministry, the aid of weak churches, and the extension of the gospel. The minutes begin with the following record:

"When it pleased God to incline the hearts of our rulers to permit the religious liberty of dissenters by a law, some persons (concerned in this present worke) laid to heart the great disadvantages which the ministry of the gospel was attended with in England and Wales, both by the poverty of dissenting ministers and the inability and backwardness of many places to afford them a mere subsistence—they considered also that many of the present ministers (wonderfully preserved to this time) are aged, and therefore it was necessary to provide for a succession of fitt persons to propagate the gospel when others were removed. By the importance of these considerations they were led to invite a considerable number of ministers in and about the city of London to advise of some methods to obviate those difficulties and as far as the law allowed to improve this liberty to the best purposes. These ministers judging a select number of ministers might best contribute to these designs, did choose seven ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion and the ministers commonly called Congregational, fixed in an equal number to assist in an affair thus common to all, who desire the advancement of the interests of our blessed Lord. The ministers thus appointed mett together and after seeking councell of God and many serious thoughts and debates among themselves, att last concluded

"(1) That some due course should be taken by way of benevolence to relieve and assist such ministers in more settled worke as could not subsist without some addition to what their hearers contributed; (2) That provision might be made for the preaching of the gospel in some most convenient places where there are not as yett any fixed ministers. (3) That what is thus contributed should be impartially applied according to the indigent circumstances and work of every minister. (4) That none might be admitted to a share in this supply as ministers but such as are devoted to and exercised in the ministry as their fixed and only imployment with the approbation of other ministers. (5) That some hopeful young men might be incouraged for the ministry and the sons of poor dissenting ministers (if equally capable) might be preferred to all others. (6) That a number of private gentlemen should be desired to concur with the fore

appointed ministers in the procuring and disposal of the said supply to the above described uses which gentlemen were fixed on.

"By these steps this happy work was begun which tis hoped God will soe enlarge the hearts of the well disposed to contribute to and attend with such a blessing as may greatly advance the kingdom of Christ, and give posterity occasion to adore the goodness of God in thus directing the minds of such as are engaged therein."

The trustees thus selected were: William Bates, Samuel Annesly, John Howe, Vincent Alsop, Daniel Williams, Richard Mayo, and Richard Stretton, Presbyterian ministers; and Matthew Mead, George Griffith, Nathaniel Mather, George Cokayne, Matthew Barker, John Faldo, and Isaac Chauncy, Congregational ministers.

The next meeting was held July 14, 1690, and the third meeting Aug. 25, when it was reported that £2,136 12/6 had been subscribed to the Fund.

For three years the representatives of the two denominations met for the purpose of increasing this fund and appropriating it. The minutes are blank for the fourth year. The last record of the third year is June 26, 1693. The first record of the fifth year is Feb. 5, 1694(5), when the Presbyterians appear alone. There were present John How, Daniel Williams, Richard Mayo, Richard Stretton, and John Shower. The subscriptions for the year were £996 18/9. This separation in the Fund followed the separation from the Union, and the rupture of the Agreement owing to the strife over Dr. Williams' book. The minutes of the original meetings are in the first volume of the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund, which was supposed to be its legitimate successor, the Congregational brethren withdrawing. They are in the possession of the Clerk of the Presbyterian Fund, W. D. Jeremy, Esq., London.

The Congregationalists organized the Congregational Fund Board in 1695. A preliminary meeting called by Matthew Mead, Daniel Cole, and Nath. Mather was held Nov. 25. The scheme was matured Dec. 30, and a meeting of the messengers of the churches was called, and in 1696 the Board was at work, and in thirteen months "'the infant Society rendered help to 150 pastors of churches, itinerants, ministers, getting up and continuing several lectures, candidates, and students for the minis-

try,' expending in this way £745 19s. out of £1,073 15 6 which had been contributed by the associated churches." (See *Congregational Fund Board, its History and Rules*, London, 1853, and also the original minutes in possession of the clerk.)

The minutes of the Congregational Fund Board continue until 1703. They are lost from 1704–38. They resume in 1739, and continue until the present day. In 1730 the Salters' Hall Fund (Presbyterian) was upwards of £2,000; the Pinners' Hall Fund (Congregational), £1,700. (See James, *Hist. of Litigation*, pp. 698–9.)

XV.

THE DUBLIN GENERAL FUND.

James Armstrong, in his *Short Account of the General Fund*, Dublin, 1815, gives an interesting account of its origin and history, which is based on the Minutes of the Fund now in the possession of the Trustees in Dublin and other manuscript authority. I am greatly indebted to the Trustees for the rare privilege of consulting the original minutes, the fruits of which appear in this volume. Alexander Sinclair, minister of Plunket street, Dublin, stated to the Presbytery of Munster, July 15, 1696, according to the Minutes of Presbytery: "That some gentlemen in London, and others in Dublin and elsewhere in the kingdom had lodged some money in the hands of the Dublin ministers to be by them distributed as they saw necessary for the support and encouragement of the ministry in the southern parts of this kingdom" (p. 3). Lady Loftus, who died in 1702, some years before her death gave a deed of trust of £500 to Rev. Thomas Emlyn and Joseph Boyse, pastors of Wood st., Dublin, of which she was a member (p. 62). May 1, 1710, the General Fund was established by a deed of trust, which constituted the ministers of the five chapels of the Presbytery of Dublin and two laymen from each chapel, trustees. The fund then constituted was £1,500, the gift of Sir Abraham Langford, Joseph Danner, Esq., Dr. Daniel Williams, and others. The £500 given by Lady Loftus was transferred to this General Fund. It was increased by £100 from Daniel Williams April 17, 1711, and £3,000 by legacy of Sir Abraham Langford, July 25, 1716, and others, so that January 1, 1755, the total amount was £4,870, besides the following special

funds: (*a*) £1,500 left by Sir Abraham Langford for the support of the ministers of Wood st.; (*b*) A fund of £700 given, 1725, by Mrs. Langford, sister of Sir A. Langford, and member of Wood st.; (*c*) St. Paul's fund of £100, given in 1742, for the use of the ministers of Carlow and Tankerstown.

This General Fund has been of immense service to Presbyterianism in the South of Ireland from the time of its origination until the present day. There can be no doubt that Daniel Williams, one of the original trustees of the London General Fund, was largely influential in establishing this Dublin General Fund. He had been the leading Presbyterian pastor in Dublin before he went to London, and he not only influenced his friends to give, but also set them an example in his own liberal gifts.

XVI.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

This Society was organized as a voluntary Society about the latter end of 1698, with a view of establishing catechetical schools for teaching the poor to read, and instructing them in the Church Catechism, and also to promote Christian knowledge in the plantations, by furnishing Bibles, Prayer-books, and religious treatises, and erecting Parochial libraries. This Society in part passed over into the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701. But the original members continued as a voluntary Society in accordance with the original design. In 1710 they undertook the management of such charities as were or should be put into their hands, for the support and enlargement of the Protestant mission, then maintained by the King of Denmark at Tranquebar, in the East Indies, for the conversion of the heathen in those parts. "They assisted the missionaries there with money, a printing press, paper and other necessaries till 1728 when a proposal made by Rev. Mr. Schultze one of the Danish Missionaries to remove to Fort St. George and there begin a new Mission, for the Conversion of the heathen at Madras, the Societies engaged for the support of that new Mission; and have ever since borne the whole expence of it, which is very considerable; there being now two other Missionaries added to the first, besides the assistance which they still continue to those at Tranquebar."

In 1720 the Society extended their regard to the Greek church in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. They published proposals for printing there with a new set of types the New Testament, Psalter, Catechism, and an Abridgment of the History of the Bible, in Arabic. In 1733 they had published 6,000 Psalters, and 10,000 Testaments, at an expense of £2,976 1/6; 5,498 Psalters and 2,512 Testaments had also been scattered.

(*Account of the origin and designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1733.)

In 1733–5 the Society sent over to America the exiled Protestants of Saltzburg, 150 in number, with two missionaries and a schoolmaster, and settled them at Ebenezer, in Georgia. (*Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1740, p. 8.)

There can be no doubt that this Society did a noble work for the American Episcopal Church in the latter part of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century. It still continues its work from London, its head-quarters.

XVII.

JOSEPH MORGAN'S LETTER OF 1718.

This letter was addressed by Joseph Morgan to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is contained in the Letter Book XIII., pp. 441–447:

Sr March 23rd Freehold, New Jersey

I hope I may be excused (tho' unknown to you) in writing to you in a matter which concerns Religion, which by your profession to you is most acceptable.

I am informed that you received a Manuscript from Christian (of which I was Scribe) proposing his thoughts of the most effectuall way to propogate the Gospel, and I hope yo' have received another which the same Authr sent you last summer) which went by a Ship to Bristol, endeavouring to Reconcile all sorts of Christians in point of Doctrine without altering their ffaith, so well as to suggest Arguments to convince Infidels even the Arguments which were satisfactory to the Author, under the most frightfull Temptations to Apostacy.

The Author is very impatient to hear what Entertainment it has found, for he seems wholly devoted to Religion and has in a manner abandon'd his Country and Livelihood and Kindred, yea and his own Children only for the Cause of Religion.—

I was fearing least your Hono:ble Society should fear to take notice of it, least the Author might be a Novice and be lifted up by it and encouraged to aspire to be the head of a Party to make a Schism Therefore I send these and remove that fear if any there be.—

The Author is now too old to expect Time enough in the World for any great Actions. 2dly he is of such a Tender Conscience, and so fearfull of Schism, that he dares not renounce such Christians as were of his Communion formerly, but only forbears what he judges Erroneous and wishes their Reformation. 3dly he fears much to strive in point of Faith with any Man that is devout, least he should ignorantly doe harm for he dreads the hurting any Man's Soul, Yet for Iustification by Christ's Righteousness and the necessity of a Holy life, He will dispute freely. 4thly he has been a Xtian from his Youth, tho' his terrible Temptations has been most latterly; and all the alteration he has made from the Christianity he first learned, is only the out side part of Religion, It is usually young hott headed Men that raise Schisms 5thly tho he is one prie's deeply in study, Yet he is slowe of apprehension, that he dares not encounter any Man of parts & Learning in a Dispute, where any Man can differ soe much from him as to offer a Debate. These things considered I think there can in reason be no cause of ffear (if he were capable) for in ye Essentialls of Religion he is steady allways, and his hands are tyed by these Manuscripts (if he were not) and in the outward parts of Religion he is allways easy. This is his true Character to which I shall anon Subscribe, and if it prove not true, let me be publish'd for a lier, which if I had no Conscience nor regard to my Reputation, I would be not thought soe for a Thousand pounds; For I might depend upon being turn'd out of the Employ by which I have my Livelihood &c.

I add I have known the Author and the Family he came of above forty years agoe and doe testifie that (for Americans) they are a Credible Family and if Common Fame may be credited, the Author has never in his life been charg'd with any thing Scandalous in his life, or persisted in any thing unbecoming his

opinion or profession: a thing that can be too seldome said of our Americans.

He always desires to keep himself secret for the reason mentioned in his Dedication, and lastly the meanest of his person should cause his work to be the less regarded: and therefores likes as well that it should be new dress'd and come out in another Name that need not be hid, if any Man's Name in the World can goe free from prejudice of such as like nothing, but what comes from such (as like themselves) seek to pull down all Xtianity except their own Schism.

The Author first address'd a number of Ministers of his own Communion (as they were then) with a Manuscript in their own Language, concerning the Need of Prayer for the Success of the Gospell &c: having before learned to read the Scriptures in the Original Tongues to satisfie himself in the principles of Religion, in which he had long found Occasion to be Inquisitive.

They made light of it saying his Language was too Mean &c: and desired that it might be used to suggest to better hand to doe it, well they commended his Zeal, but said he and they were not capable to be Writers of Books: He insisted upon the necessity in this Case: till they told him his hypothesis was not true, which last passage allmost broke his heart, and took away his sleep, that he went severall Months like one mourning under the greatest Bereavements and ready to sink down being griev'd that there is no hope of better times at hand: But the very World Apostatizing. So he having not prevail'd with them to read his Manuscript halt through never addressed them more, nor any Minister of that persuasion, with any such matter directly.

And after some Months heavy Mourning & grieving he concluded to look another way. And having made some Acquaintance in the Provinces of New York and New Iersey, he heard of your Honourable Society and hoped that by your Title that ye are the only Men: being moved with love to you, by your very Titles Sake: But he lets no more persons know of his Composing and sending you these Manuscripts y^{m} only some Trustee persons to assist him, and some for Advice, and some Zealous praying Christians to Assist him in prayer for its success, about Six in all and to deal impartially he has chose them from among the Church and Presbiterians, Anabaptists and one Quaker, or rather Socinian (trusty men) some of them Preachers. The

Quaker a very great Enemy of Predestination and of a piercing Apprehension gave his opinion in Writing from under his hand Concerning the second Manuscript, that he approved of the first & last part of it (which only concern predestination) right well, but for the rest of the Book he did not so much admire it: The reason I relate this is because some of ye other are as strong Predestinerians and approve it as well, which is a Circumstance to hope that it is a platform (as the Author proposes) to reconcile the grievous Contentions, by which the Church is Rent to pieces and laid to the Invasion of ye Adversary.

Last Fall having an Opportunity by Mr Child going from hence to live at London: I sent the first rough Draught (in English) of both Manuscripts to the Presbiterians. They are much short of the other which were much enlarg'd by the Authors Directions and afterwards mended by many Interlineations. For his thoughts are more clear and quick. Those first sent last, have allsoe some Patches added which might mend the other. I hope the work is printed in its' own form, or else new drawn and printed, otherwise I could wish they were both together to make one good one. If there be nothing done I know not what will become of the Author whose life seems to be bound up in the Cause of the Gospel Psalms ye 119, 136 & 158, & Psalm 134.

Sometimes he is reviv'd by reading Psalm the 11th through and sometimes tempted by Discouragements (which break his heart) And now Gentlemen if ye desire to know who or what I am that give you this Account any Church Minister that has been in the parts of New York or New Iersey within these ten Years can tell you the Character of

May it please yr Honourable Society
Your very Humble Servant
And I hope I may say by the best Relations,
Yor Unworthy Brother in Christ
JOSEPH MORGAN.

XVIII.

THE PURITAN CHURCHES OF NEW YORK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The situation of the Puritan churches of the colony of New York at the opening of the 18th century, when they were subject

to the inroads of Governor Cornbury and the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, is well set forth in the following extracts from the letters of Governor Cornbury and these missionaries:

(1) *An Account of the building of the churches at East and Westchester enclosed in Mr. Bartow's letter of* 14 *April*, 1714. (Letter Book S. P. G., IX., p. 226):

"May it please the venerable and honorable society for P. G. we whose names are subscribed doe hereby certify that the church of Westchester was built by a rate layed and levied on the inhabitants of the town in proportion to their estates in the year of our Lord 1700 and that Mr. Morgan a Presbiterian minister of East Chester did sometimes come to preach in it until such time as Mr Bartow came and took possession of it in the year 1702 since which time it has been supplied by him. We also testifie that the church of East Chester was built in the year of our Lord 1692 by subscription of the inhabitants of the said town and that Mr Matthews a Presbiterian minister for about 3 years and after him Mr. Morgan a Presbiterian minister did preach till such time as Mr Bartow began to preach unto us in the year 1703 since which time it has been in his possession and he comes and preaches at East Chester once in 4 weeks during the winter and once in a week during the space of 6 months in the summer And we further testify that the town of East Chester was made a distinct parish from West Chester in the year 1700. Signed Joseph Hunt, Justice & Ch. Ward., West Chester; Thos Spel, Justice & Vestryman, Pelham; Noah Barton, Justice and Vestryman, Yonkers; Miles Oakley, Justice & Vestryman, West Chester; Dan Clark clerk D. Com. West Chester; Israel Honeyman Jun^{r}, Vestryman; Jn^{o} Drake of East Chester, Justice; Thos Pinenar of East Chester, Justice; Jeremiah Fowler, Church Warden of East Chester; Isaac Taylor, Vestryman; Will^{m} Pinckney, Vestryman."

(2) *Letter from Mr. Thomas to the Secretary from N. Y. March* 1, 1705:

"After much toil and fatigue I am (through Gods assistance) safely arrived at N. Y. and have been two months settled in Hampstead where I meet with civil reception from the people. They are generally Independents and Presbiterians and have hitherto been supplyed ever since their first settlement with a

dissenting ministry . . . . The country in general is extreamly wedded to a dissenting ministry and were it not for his Excellency my Lord Cornbury's most favorable countenance to us, we might expect the severest entertainment here that Dissenting malice, and the rigour of prejudice could afflict us withall. We of the clergy enjoy the influence of his Lordships most favourable respect, his Lordships extraordinary respect to his clergy has set them above the snarling of the vulgar, and secures to them a respect and deference from the best of the people. . . . . Government is our great asylum and bulwark, which my Lord exerts to the utmost, when the necessities and interest of the Church call for it. The people of Hampstead are better disposed to peace and civility than they are at Jamaica ; yet my Lords countenance, next to the Providence of heaven is my chiefest safety." (Letter Book II., lxxi.)

(3) *Mr. Thomas writes again, June* 27, 1705 (Letter Book II., xciv.)

"I am very pleasantly seated here upon a delicate plain 16 miles long, but the people are all stiff dissenters, not above 3 church people in the whole parish, all of em the obstinate rebellious offspring of 42. Bro. Urquhart & myself belong to one county and the only English ministers upon this island. We have two of the most difficult posts upon the . . . . are the first that broke the ice among this sturdy obstinate crew, who endeavour what in them lyes to crush us in the embryo, but (blessed be God) by the propitious smiles of heaven and the favourable countenance of my Lords government, we keep above water & we thank God have added to our church."

(4) *Thomas and Urquhart write a joint letter to the Secretary, July* 4, 1705.

"The inhabitants of this county are generally Independents and what are not so are either Quakers or of no professed religion at all, the generality averse to the discipline of our holy mother, the Church of England and enraged to see her ministry established among them. The ancient settlers have transplanted themselves from N. England and do still keep a close correspondence, and are buoyed up by schismatical instructions from that interest, which occasions all the disturbance and opposition we meet with in both our parishes. They have hitherto been used to a dissenting minister and they still support one at Jamaica,

who has a most pestilential influence over our people who from their souls were disaffected to conformity."

(5) *Lord Cornbury writes to the Secretary from N. Y., Sept.* 22, 1705 (*Letter Book*, II., cxxxi.)

"The county of Suffolk which is wholly inhabited by English, but to this day there has never been a minister of the church of England settled in those parts. I was there this summer, there are several good towns, particularly East Hampton, South Hampton, Southold, Brookhaven and Huntington, in each of these places there is an Independent minister, who have poisoned the minds of the people so far that they generally hate the name of the Church of England."

XIX.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The following extracts illustrate the condition of Presbyterianism in South Carolina at the beginning of the eighteenth century:

(1) Nov. 6 and 7, 1704. William Screuen and Archibald Stobo, ministers of congregations in Charlestown, sign a document to the effect that they had perused a sermon of Edward Marston, minister of the Church of England in Charleston; and Edward Marston says, "and I a little favouring the Dissenters, who generally are the soberest, most numerous, and richest people of this province; some men that are now in power, have for that reason been pleased to be my enemies." (Letter dated May 3, 1705.) Both of these documents are contained in *Tracts relating to South Carolina*. B. M., 1061 g. 49, pp. 56–57. (The title-page is gone).

(2) *Letter of Le Jau to Mr. Stubbs from St. James, Goose Creek, S. C., April* 15, 1707.

"One Mr. Stobo has printed a covenant subscribed by 46 of his Presbyterian meeting, in 1706. I read only the two first and two last leaves; my patience was sufficiently tryed then; he binds them to a Presbyterian congregation for ever in church dis-

cipline, doctrine and government, as set down in the Old Testament. That christnings, marriages and burials shall be among themselves, that their ministers shall come from Scotland, such as he, Mr. Stobo can comply with, that upon Sabbath days they shan't go to other places but the meeting or must meet among themselves rather than by gadding abroad for strengthening others vice and giving offence to one another. The conclusion is most horrid; the 46 men subscribe to those premises as the revealed truths of Jesus Christ. I would read no more; yet I am promised one of the printed papers and will send it to you: however the subscription was not 12 months old but they turned the man out to put in a young man lately come."

(3) *Letter of Mr. Robert Stevens to the Secretary of the S. P. G., from Goose Creek, S. C., Feb.* 3, 1707(8). (*Letter Book*, IV. 19.)

He says that "the major part of the inhabitants are dissenters." . . . . "When I was of the Assembly and Mr. Marshall sent by the bishop of London to be minister of Charlestown that his maintenance might be paid out of the publick money for I considered if we should distrain on the goods of a dissenter to maintain our minister it would breed ill blood, this being happily concluded, he was settled in quiet and the members of our church increased and the dissenters decreased, they having but two presbyterian and one anabaptist minister and they ready to depart for lack of encouragement; but those two unfortunate acts with the hard usage we afforded our ministers caused them to increase so as they sent for two more which are come and now there are five and a deacon whose meetings are more thronged than ours."

(4) *Richard Marsden writes to the Secretary, Aug.* 23, 1708 (IV. 55).

"There is an island near Charlestown called James island on which is about 50 families most of them dissenters, I preached there once in two weeks, and was in hopes to have had great success, and did procure by subscription 100£ to build a church on the island, but now being removed cannot preach there as did before (being at too great a distance) and am afraid that nothing further will be done there for some time at least."

(5) *Mr. Wm. Dunn writes to the Secretary from Charlestown, Sept.* 20, 1708. (IV., 111.)

He reports that his parish "contains about 150 christian

families consisting of more than 300 souls (besides young children), about 80 whereof profess themselves of the Church of England, the remaining 220 are dissenters of all sorts; thus 150 Presbyterians, 8 Independents, 40 Anabaptists, 10 Quakers and above 12 others whom I cannot tell what to make of." He also reports 24 actual communicants of the Church of England. He also reports 1,000 negro and Indian slaves and 400 free natives, besides children in his parish. Mr. Dunn was Rector of St. Paul's parish, in Colleton county.

(6) *Commissioner Johnston writes to the Secretary of the S. P. G., from Charlestown, S. C.*, July 5, 1710, a long letter (V. 158).

"Mr. Taylour is at present the Presbyterian minister in this place. He is a person of a very peaceable temper, and greatly abhors and disapproves of that restless and factious spirit those of his party are possessed with: He greatly condemns two country preachers of the same stamp, who on all occasions foment and stir up the people to faction and sedition. Their names are Mr. Stobo and Mr. Pollock, both of them fierce men in their way; and Mr. Taylor says that place can never be easy or quiet, where there is a Scotch Presbyterian minister. One of them Mr. Pollock in his sermon called the church of England a scandalous church; and Mr. Taylor thinks, and so do I too, that the Presbyterian ministers in London ought to be acquainted with the behaviour of these men; and that they do henceforward assert their right of sending English ministers to this province, as often as there shall be occasion, it being an English colony originally before the Union act, and it being unreasonable to subject the Presbyterian interest and cause in this province to the Presbyterian government in Scotland, which is the thing the Scotch dissenting ministers here are driving at, with all their might and main as is plain by the second proposal or request in Mr. Stobo's pamphlet which I send inclosed to you. The other two dissenting ministers that are in this province are Mr. Lord, a quiet man as I hear and an Independent; and Mr. Scriven an Anabaptist, who is lately removed from this town to the Northward and is a ship carpenter by trade. Mr. Taylour informs me the Presbyterians about the River Ashley in Mr. Wood's parish have sent for a teacher; and Mr. Livingstone who was here before Mr. Taylour and is lately gone for Great Britain or Ireland will return in a little time, so that we shall have 7 in

all. Mr. Pollock, as I have been credibly informed, has made some, that came to hear him, who were formerly pretended churchmen, to sign a paper, by which they bound themselves never to return to the communion of the church of England."

XX.

LETTERS OF JAMES ANDERSON.

These five letters were discovered by the author, in the summer of 1884, in the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The Librarian, Mr. J. T. Clark, kindly had them copied for him by an experienced copyist. They are now published for the first time, and shed a considerable light on the early history of the Presbyterian Church in America. We have also a copy of a letter of James Anderson of a more private character, from the same collection of manuscripts, dated New York, October 29, 1725, but it does not contain anything of importance for the purposes of our history, and we have concluded not to publish it.

(1.)

Newcastle upon Delaware Augst 1716.

Right Revnd Sr.

About seven years agoe when I first came into these American Regions I remember I did myself y^{e} honour to wait upon yow, and was favoured with many very savory and religious advices from yow, Some of q^{ch} I shall never forget for they've been of very great use to me in this remote house of my pilgrimage: When I left yow, yow desired me to write & let yow have an account of our affairs here; In q^{ch} I acknowledge I've hitherto been very defective, not, I am sure, out of any desregard to yow but only from a conceit of my own weaknesse insignificancy & so unfittnesse to take upon me to write to a person of your character & worth; q^{ch} barr I've now att last brake through & have adventured to trouble yow with these lines, which I know will be no trouble to yow, when I consider, that I design to write nothing but what has a relation to the interest of our dearest Mediator's Kingdom.

When I came from Scotland, perhaps yow may remember, y^{t} I was ordained (worthlesse as I was & yet am) to the Sacred

office of ye ministry with a view of coming to Virginia, where I, in ye good providence of God, arived; but meeting with unaccountable dissapointments there, after half a year stay, I came over to these parts, qre I understood there were some minrs of my perswasion, & have ever since remained in this place. In this county where I am there are, since I came here, settled, three other presbyterian minrs, two of qch are from your city of Glasgow.

There are in all, of minrs, who meet, in a presbytry once a year, sometimes att Philadelphia, sometimes here att Newcastle, seventeen, & two probationers from ye north of Irland whom we have under tryall for ordination, twelve of qch, I think, have had the most & best of their education at your famous University of Glasgow; We are mostly but young raw heads, yet glory to our God he magnifies & perfects his strength in our weaknesse, and makes it evident yt he can work wonders of grace by poor mean & insignificant instruments. As to our proceedings in matters of publick worship & discipline, we make it our businesse to follow ye directory of ye Church of Scotland, qch (as well we may) we oun as our moyr church. We make it our businesse to settle & to make settlements, for minrs of our perswasion yt join with us, in places where ye Gospell has either never att all been preached, or else in places where there are wicked, prophane, debauched, carelesse creatures of the bishop of London of qch there has been not a few, & yet are some, within ye bounds of these provinces, where some of our brethren meet, which is ye reason of our meeting with pritty many hardships & difficulties both from ye inconveniences of our congregations & ye opposition of inveterate enemies.

In some of our places ye hearers, by reason of their poverty & paucity, are scarce att all able, tho' never so willing, to allow a competent creditable subsistance for their minrs, which is the reason of some contempt amongst some; which I humbly think might be, in some measure, easily remedied by our moyr ye Church of Scotland and her adherants in Brittain. And I doubt not but she readily would use her care & endeavors this way, if she were but sensible of the inconveniences yt her poor children in this remote corner lye under upon this account.

I have heard it proposed here, by some who have come from your parts & pretend to know ye pulse of some persons of estate, especially merchts this way, yt if any such thing were set about

zealously there might soon be raised as much mony as, if sent over to the care & managm^{t} of our presbytry might be a very great help to these places & min^{rs} amongst us which labor under the forementioned inconveniencies. I doubt not but one Sabbath day's generall collection for this use with some other help we might have from our brethren in old England, would amount to as much as if right manag'd would be necessary & as we should in haste want, for this purpose; This would not be much felt with yow & would be greatly beneficiall here, and am confident would, through Gods blissing, have a mighty tendency towards the advancement of the Mediators Kingdom in this new growing country.

This Dear S^{r} I have been bold to propose to yow, knowing yow to be a person truly zealous for the promotion of the interest of our dearest common Lord, & also by reason of your high character & station very capable of doing us & y^{e} interest of Religion here, as much service this way, as any other I know. I know it will be, or perhaps already it has been, objected that such a thing as this would give some reasons of jealousie to the Church of England y^{t} yow thereby would incroach too much upon their precincts & liberties. But I can't see what ground or reason they can have for such a thought. The Church of Scotland is established in Great Brittain as well as y^{t} of England, & no doubt have liberty of sending forth missionaries (& supplying them too) to these places especially within the dominions of Great Brittain, where the Church of England is no more established than y^{e} Church of Scotland, which is the case of these places I am pleading for; for in Pensylvania & y^{e} Jersies y^{re} is no one church established more than anoy^{r} & none are oblidged to pay or contribute towards y^{e} mantinance of any min^{r} more then another but what they please.

There is one thing more, for the abovs^{d} reasons, I would, if I might be allowed, also propose to yow; There are a great many young men merch^{ts} who come from your parts, soberly (I beleive) educated & brought up att home, who, when they arive here, are meer rakes, stap or stand att no sin or vice almost that falls in their way, swearing whoring Sabbath breaking drunkennesse are as common vices, with a great many of them, as if they tho't there wos no evil in the commission of any of these; and as to their countenance of min^{rs} y^{t} are of y^{e} principles of y^{e} church of Scotland, they are so far from y^{t}, y^{t} they carry as if

they were ashamed of their moyr Church her principles & wayes, whatever is the religion of their pot & lascivious companions yt is theirs. So yt really a great many of them (yr are some, tho' very few, exceptions) are a perfect scandall to all religion & a disgrace to yt part of ye world from whence they come, from which other & better things has been here expected; I am sure if ye parents & principals of some of ym knew their carriage & beheavor in these parts it would be matter of very great sorrow & greif to them. I propose this not out of any disregard I have to ym, I am sure it is out of love to their souls. I am glad to see my countrymen in these parts, neither do I speak so because of any particular affront or incivelity received. I never mett with any such. from any of them, but on ye contrary, with very much civility & respect, But I propose it, yt some method might be fallen upon whereby this dreadfull & offensive greivance might be rectified. Query whither or not their parents & imployers could not oblidge them to bring certificates of their inafensive beheavor during their abode in these parts from ministers here to their oun minrs &c. att home. forgive my pralixity &c.: I am R R Sr

Your truly affectionate Servt

Ja: Anderson

P: S: I beg your prs in publick & private for us in these parts & yt yow would write us.

Addressed "For The Right Revnd Mr John Stirling Principall of the College of Glasgow Scotland"

(2.)

Newcastle on Delaware August 8. 1717.

Right Revd Sr

About a year agoe, after some appollogie for my not writing before, I adventured to write to yow concerning some things I tho't of considerable concern & moment towards the advancement of the interest of the Mediators Kingdom in these parts, which I'm affrayed has nat come to your hands. Therein I gave yow a small account of my arivall & progresse in this American world, of the number of minrs who in these parts meet in a presbytry: As to our proceedings in matters of publick worship & discipline, (as I then acquainted yow) we make it our businesse to follow the directory of our moyr ye church of Scotland as near as the circumstances of these parts will allow. We

settle & make Settlements for min^rs of our perswasion, in places where the Gospell has never att all been preached; or else where there are wicked prophane debauched carelesse creatures of the bishop of London. of q^ch y^re has been not a few, & yet are some, wt^in the bounds of these provences whence some of our brethren meet: which is y^e reason of our meeting with pritty many hardships & difficulties, both from the inconveniencies of our congregations & the opposition of inveterate enemies. In some of our places, the hearers by reason of their poverty and paucity, are scarce att all able, tho' never so willing, to allow a competent creditable subsistance for their min^rs, q^ch is the occasion of some contempt amongst some, which I, with submission, think might be in some measure easily remedied, by our moy^r The Church of Scotland and her adhereants in Great Brittain, & I doubt not but she readily would use her care and endeavor this way, if she were but sensible of the inconvenience y^t her poor children, in this remote corner ly under upon this account; I have heard it proposed here, by some who have come from your parts, & pretended to know the pulse of some persons of estate this way, that if any such thing were set about zealously, there might soon be raised as much mony, as if sent over to y^e care and managm^t of our presbytry, might be a very great help to these places & min^rs amongst us y^t labour under the formentioned inconveniencies; I doubt not but one Sabbath days generall collection for this use, with some other help we might have from our brethren in Old England, would amount to, as much, as, if right managed, would be necessary & as we should in haste want, for this purpose. This would not be much felt with yow, & would be greatly beneficiall & I'm confident would, through Gods blessing, mightily tend to y^e growth advancem^t & encouragm^t of religion, in these parts. I know it will be, or has been objected, y^t such a thing as this would give the Established church of England reason to suspect y^t yow thereby would incroach too much upon their precincts & liberties, but I can't see q^t ground they can have for such a thought. The Church of Scotland is established in Great Brittain as well as y^t of England, & no doubt have liberty of Sending forth missionaries (& supplying y^m too) to these places, especially, within the dominions of Great Brittain, where the Church of England is no more established than the Church of Scotland q^ch is the case of these places we are cheifly concerned in. In Pensylvania & the New Jersies there is no one

Church established more than another, & none are oblidged to pay or contribute towards the mantenance of any minister more than another, but what he pleases.

There is another thing I also proposed in my last, ther are a great many young men merch^ts that come from your parts, who, tho' soberly educated & brought up att home, when they arive here, are meer rakes, stap att no sin or vice y^t falls in their way, monstrous Swearing whoring Sabbath breaking drunkenesse &c are as common with a great many of them as if they tho't there was no evil in any of these sins. And as to their countenancing of min^rs y^t are of the principles of the church of Scotland, from that they are so far, that they carry as if they were ashamed of their mother church principles & wayes, whatever is the religion of their pot & lascivious companions that is their's, so y^t realy a great many of them (whose names I yet forbear to mention) are a perfect scandal to all religion, & a disgrace to that part of the world from whence they come. Sure I am, if the parents & principals of some of them knew their carriage & beheavour in these parts, it would be matter of very great sorrow & greif to them. This I propose & speak of not out of disregard I have to them but out of love to their souls, for I've been glad to see my countrymen in these parts, neither do I speak so, because of any particular affront or incivility received of any of them, I never mett with any such, from any of them, but on the contrary with very much externall civility & respect, but I propose it that some method might be fallen upon q^rby to rectifie this dreadfull greivance, querie whither or not their parents & others concerned in them, could not oblidge y^m to bring certificates of their good behavour, during their abode in these parts, from min^rs in these parts, to their oun att home ?

Dear S^r My knowledge of your noted zeal, for y^e promotion of the publick interest of our dearest common Lord, & also your capacity, by reason of your high character & station, of doing us & the interest of religion here, as much service this way, as any other I know, engadged me att first to adventure to propose these things unto yow, even without the advice of my brethren, whom, when last mett, I acqwainted therewith, who instead of dissaproving, encouraged me to back with another letter, what I had before said, which, with my not hearing any thing of the last, is the reason of this now.

Pray S^r use your endeavors y^t we in this American wildernesse,

especially we who are ourselves children of that mother church whereof yow are an eminent member, may not be forgot, not only in private but in the publick prayers of your churches, Our relation we stand in to yow, as also our poor practise this way with respect to yow, is what makes us put in for a claim to this as our due from yow, I assure yow the church of Scotland is not forgot amongst us in these parts.

I conclude praying peace be w^tin her walls, prosperity within her palaces; peace peace be be w^t & in thee O Scotland.

I am R^d S^r
Your realy affectionate
tho' worthlesse serv^t
JA: ANDERSON

P: S: This, I design shall come, att least to England by y^e hands of the Rev^nd Mr. John Hampton one of our brethren here, whose necessary businesse & exegencies calls him home to Brittain for some time, who, if yow see or hear from him, can acqwaint yow more fully of these & other things relating to us.

Pray remember my love heartily to The R Rev and Professor Simpson J. A.

(3.)

New York December 3 1717.

R R & D S^r

Your very usefull & acceptable letter of the 12 of Aug^st last I received 9^ber 9^th via Boston and communicated to this our presbytry of New York & Long Island & severall other of my brethren in whose name & att whose desire, I do hereby return yow hearty thanks, for y^e care diligence & pains yow have taken & been att, in & about the affairs therein containd; and am assured y^t your Synod shall have y^e hearty sentiments & expressions of the gratitude of our's, when it meets att Philadelphia 7^ber next, Doubt not but what shall be, or is raised, even within the bounds of your Synod, will be of very remarkable benefit to Some poor places & people amongst us, for which I'm confident yow & your worthy brethren can't miss of your comfortable reward & in the mean time yow have of y^e blessings & prayers of a great many poor serious souls scattered up & doun here, who in due time expect to be sharers in y^e fruits of your care & bounty towards them. Dear S^r I know your concern & endeavors for the advancement of the publick interest of religion, The progresse and prosperity of our Mediators Kingdom both

att home & abroad are such as need no exceetment from anything I can say, The inward joy comfort & satisfaction arising in your oun breast, on the tho'ts & reflections of doing good & being any way servicable to your great Lord & Master, together with ye hopes of the gracious but yet glorious reward which follow on such Services, are motives, which it but poorly becomes me to be so much as a remembrancer to yow of for exceeting yow to goe on & continue (as yow have to our great satisfaction & comfort begun) to agent our cause & plead with our mother, that she may be prevailed upon yet further to extend her bowels of care & compassion toward us her poor Scattered children in these remote corners, yt we may be, Some way, putt in a better capacity, not only of enlarging the bounds of our Lords dominions in these wild heathenish wildernesses, but also advancing the credite & reputation of our dear mother the Church of Scotland in places & amongst people here, where great pains & diligence have been & yet are taken to bring her under ignominie & disgrace.

Since I writ first to yow, your ansr to which I have now before me, I writ again much to the same purpose, about 3 or 4 months agoe, by the Revnd Mr John Hampton, one of our minrs, who, for his health & other necessary businesse, is oblidged for some time to goe to his native country. If I mistake not, I therein gave yow an account of our presbytrie's being constituted a Synod, consisting of four presbytries Viz. ye presbytry of Philadelphia wherein are 7 minrs. The presbytry of Newcastle 6 minrs. The presbytry of Snow Hill 5 congregations. The presbytry of New York & Long Island 5. in each of which presbytries there are either some vacancies of places where ministers have been settled, or places we expect in a little time shall be settled.

This place, the City of New York, where I now am, is a place of considerable moment & very poplous consisting as I'm informed of about 3000 families or housekeepers. Its a place of as great trade & businesse, if not more now, as any in North America. In it are two minrs of ye established church of England, two Dutch minrs, one French minr, a Lutheran minister, an Anabaptist & also a Qwaker meeting. The place did att first intirly belong to the Dutch; After the English had it endeavours were used by ye cheif of ye people who then understood English towards the Settlement of an English dissenting minister in it, & accordingly one was called from New England, who after he

had preached sometime here, having a prospect & promise of more mony then what he had among the dissenters, went to old England, took orders from ye B. of London & came back here as minister of the established church of E: Here he yet is, has done, & still is doing what he can, to ruin the dissenting interest in the place & verifying ye old saying Omnis apostata est sectae sua osor; Afterwards endeavours were used again & again by the famous Mr Francis McKemie, Mr Hampton, Mr McNish & others towards the Settlement of a Scots church in this city, but by ye arbitrary managment & influence of a wicked high flying governour, who preceeded his excellency Brigadeer Hunter, our present governour (may ye Lord blesse & long preserve him) that businesse has been hitherto impeded, & could never be brought in a likly way to bear.

The last summer, I being providentially here, & being oblidged to stay here about businesse the matter of a month, att the desire of a few especially Scots people, preached each Sabbath. Tho' there were a pretty many hearers, yet there were but few yt were able & willing to do anything towards the setting forward such a work. a few there were who were willing to do their uttermost, but so few that I had then but small grounds to suppose that any thing effectually could be done. Some time before our last Synod, a call from this small handfull with some few others yt had joyn'd them, came to the presbytry of Newcastle desiring a transportation of me from Newcastle to New York, which the presbytry referred to ye Synod then in a little time to sit. The Synod, having a prospect of getting Newcastle supplied by a young man one Mr Crosse, lately come from the North of Irland, transported me hither. The people here who are favorors of our church & perswasion, as I've told yow, are yet but few & none of the richest, yet for all, I am not without hopes yt with Gods blessing, they shall in a little time encrease. Some are already come to live in the city & more are expected whose langwage would not allow them to joyn with ye Dutch or French churches. & whose consciences would not allow them to joyn in the service of the English Church. The cheif thing in all appearance, now wanting, with Gods blessing & concurrence to render us a growing flourishing congregation, is a good large convenient house or church to congregate in; Some proposalls are now sett on foot towards the building of one, but building being here very coastly, & convenient ground to build such a house upon; being yet

more coastly, & the handfull of people y^t^ are having their hands full to doe towards the necessary Support of their minister we shall not be able to goe through with the building of such a house as the place requires, without the assistance of our friends; The crying necessity of having the Gospell & Gospell ordinances dispensed purly in our langwage here, This seeming to be the time for carrying on such a work, while things are So moderate att home, & while we have such a wise moderate governour here, Together with y^e^ hopes of the growing of our interest, & the hopes of some assistance from our friends & brethren att home, att least in building, were cheif considerations moving the Synod to transport me hither, & begetting a willingnesse in me to comply with the Synods act.

I believe by this time yow smell my drift. I don't know how to begin to beg any more att your door least I should be reckoned (to use our oun Scots word) missleard. But if any of your Substantiall Merch^ts^ or some other Synod could be prevailed upon to contribute towards the building of a Scots church here oh! how acceptible would it be to us & how Servicable would it be to religion & our interest in the place! Severall of our Scots merchants trade hither, & I doubt not, more will, when before now they have come, they understanding neither Dutch nor French were oblidged either to stay att home or goe to y^e^ church of E: or worse which has been y^e^ occasion of some mischeifs wickednesse & inconveniencies, which I hope, in a great measure, if this work of God succeed here, shall hereafter be prevented, I am affrayid I have wearied yow. May the choisest blessings both of the upper & nether springs be plentifully poured out on yow & yours, May The Church of Scotland be ever preserved from antichristian superstitious drosse in doctrine, discipline & worship; May practicall Godlinesse be had more & more in esteem & renoun amongst all ranks & degrees of persons. May your famous Universities, especially that whereof yow are the principall, flourish, & prove real nurseries for God. These are & shall be the petitions & prayers of one who desires an intrest in yours & att present remains

Very Reverend & dear S^r^
Your truly affectionate & oblidged tho' worthlesse
Broy^r^ & Serv^t^
JA: ANDERSON

P: S: Pray S^r^ do not forget the businesse of y^e^ young men

merchts I wrote before of I would gladly be rembered to professor Simpsone a letter from yow now & then would wonderfully revive me. This place lyes clear midway betwixt Boston & Philadelphia, the post from both these places comes here every week.

Addressed: "To the Right Reverend Mr John Stirling principal of the Colledge of Glasgow."

(4.)

Newcastle July 13. 1719.

R R Sr

The favour of yours dated Decr 5. 1718 I receivd june 20. 1719 which for any thing that I can find, was, in obedience to the Appointmt of our Synod, ansuered last fall by broyr McNish & myself in a letter to yow, with one therein inclosed to the Moderator of your Synod both which come from New York along with Mr Patrick McKnight mercht there.

Since I received your letter I have communicated it to severall of my brethren here, all aggree that the sending of that mony in goods well bought, will tend to greatest advantage here, only on the account of the now war, that so we may not run the risque of loosing all, it is desired that, if the goods are not sent of before this comes to hand, they may be ensured.

I tho't to have ansrd your letter more particularly & with greater deliberation, but being here providentially on the occasion of the death of my fayr in law & so from home & pretty much in a hurry of businesse & the bearer Mr Alexander (of whose savory conversation since he came into these American parts I am glad to hear so good a report as I have since I came here heard) being also in haste from this, I could not write as I would, but yet the opportunity being so good I could not, I think, without coming short in my duty but write something, if any other opportunity after this offer I resolve to be more particular.

According to your desire I remembred yow to our governour B. Hunter who was very glad to hear of yow. & desired me, when I writt to yow, to remember his respects to yow. He designs as I understand to sail for G. Brittain tomorrow the 14th instant. which with my hearty respect to yow & other inquiering freinds is all that can be said att this time by

R R Sr

Your oun

Ja: Anderson

Addressed: "For The Right Rev^d M^r John Stirling principall of the colledge of Glasgow"

"p^r M^r Alexandr."

(Dorso) Ia: And: New York 1719 July 13.

(5.)

New York 9^ber 25 1723.

Right Reverend & much Honoured S^r

We in this congregation are now, by burthen of debt and other unnatural oppositions, brought to the uttmost pinch of necessity, so that if we meet not with speedy releif, we shall, in all humane probability, be oblidged to quitt striving, and give up our interest in this place. We have now no probable mean of extrication from our difficulties left under God, but by betaking ourselves to, and laying our case plainly open before our friends & brethren in the Church of Scotland, to see if she can be prevailed upon to extend her pity and compassion in consulting some way for the releif of us her distant & distress'd children here. We therfor, and our presbytry for us have as the only expedient that now can be tho't of by us, addressed our freinds and Brethren with yow, and that this mean may not prove ineffectuall, as our attempts this way have hitherto proven, we have therewith sent home, as our messenger, our Beloved and trustie freind and Brother D^r John Nichols, one of our cheif members and representatives, that no lawfull pains or care may be wanting in us for the supporting the interest of religion and of our profession here, where it is so much needed, and upon the standing of which the presbyterian interest in this province does so much depend.

R^d S^r The frouns of providence and the strange opposition that we have mett with here in this wicked place, are, and have been, such, that we do not know well what to do, but yet praise to our God, our eyes are towards him, we know that it is his frequent way with his oun church and people, to make their extremitie his opportunity of appearing & shewing himself for them and their releif.

Amongst other crosse disspensations it has pleased the Lord in his soveraign providence to remove, from amongst us by death, his eminent Serv^t The Reverend M^r George McNish who hath been, for these 16 or 17 years past, a remarkable instrument under God for the support and defence of the Gospell, and of the presbyterian

interest in these parts, and particularly exerted himself in the behalf of the poor distressed infant congregation here. Our losse in him, we are ready to be affray'd, is truly irreparable. But what shall we say. It is the Lord who both gives and takes att his pleasure. Blessed be his name: If that excellent man had lived, He would have effectually by his Epistles, back'd our present addresses, but he is gone, and we have now none near us, equally likeminded for us, who can do any thing by their acqwaintance in your parts, it is true we might have had letters to yow from Messrs Gillespie, Stewart and Hutcheson, but they living att such a distance from this, the project of sending home Dr Nichols in this manner, being so latly, to any purpose, tho't upon, and the ship in which he is ingadged to goe, being to sail sooner than was expected, time has prevented.

Your last letter to me of the 14th of Febry ult. was like to have crushed us utterly, but being now driven to the outmost difficulties, and application to yow being the only expedient left us for releif, and not being able to hold it much longer we resolved to make a bold attempt, and over the bellie of all difficulties to trust providence, as with the Lepers att the gate of Samaria &c, in throwing our selves upon our charitably disposed freinds with yow for releif, leaving the event to God, if we perish we perish.

Dear Sr plead with our mother the church for us: for the Lords sake for the sake of the intrest of his K.dom, which is, we fear, here ready to perish, use, as yow give us ground to think yow will, your outmost indeavours to prevent & dissapate our fears. Be pleased Sr to let the bearer Dr Nichols have your countenance and incouragment, with your best advices and directions how to manage himself so as his errand may be render'd most successfull, He can give yow a more particular and full account of all our affairs here than is proper to be here inserted, and He being a gentleman of such noted piety integrity and zeal for the interests of our Mediators Kingdom in these parts, I can with freedom recomend him as a person worthy of regard whose information may be depended on as true and certain; Mr Hutcheson is ordaind a considerable distance from this place, Thus praying that the God of all grace & peace may be with yow, and earnestly desiring an interest in your prayers, I remain, with great regard,

Very Revend Sr Your oun

Ja: Anderson.

Addressed: "To The Right Revd and Honorable Mr John Stir-

ling principall of the Colledge of Glasgow" "pr Dr Nichols This"
(Dorso) New York Nov. 25, 1723.

XXI.

LETTER OF GEORGE McNISH, 1718.

This letter is No. 118 in Vol. XXII. of the Wodrow *MSS.*

Jamaica on Long Island Nov: 15: 1718

Rt Rd & hond Sr

I am by order of our Synod appointed to write yow a letter of thanks, for the many singular favours your exemplary piety has mov'd yow to do for the interest of God & godliness in these American parts: I am to tell yow Sr, our Synod are extreme sensible of the great hand yow have had both in projecting & bringing to beare several excellent things for encouraging the ministry here, beare with the expression, your commendation & praise is truly among the ministers of Christ in our bounds, reflect, Sr, what pleasure it must be to us to see that we are in the thoughts & pious affections of a man of your station & character in the church of God & that at so great a distance yow have heart and goodness as well as ability to be aiding to a few mean instruments seeking to recover poor lost sheep in this vast wilderness.

It's many times a wonder to my thoughts, how many great & pious men in Brittain can beare with themselves, in living in so narrow a capacity as they do, do they not miss it in expounding or applying the 2d petition of our Lords prayer, men to whom the Lord has given riches learning piety great interest yet want largeness of heart to communicate to the spreading the doctrine of Christianity among men, humanly speaking, I see not what considerable progress christianity will obtain in these plantations of America, 'till the antient settlements in Brittain & Ireland shall put on a true generous christian spirit & lay themselves out to seek the good of the disperst of these nations in America. May the desireable time come when the Lord shall claim America for his own & blessed be they who have a hand in ministring to so great a work.

I shall conclude with my hearty desires to the Lord of all goodness for favours of his right hand on yow & all yours, in-

treating withall, you'll go on to strengthen our interest, & devise liberally for spreading the doctrin of salvation among us. I am

Much honoured

Your very humble ser

Geo: McNish

P: S: Mr James Anderson having a smal bill of five pounds sterling due to Robert Anderson merchant in Bells Wynd in Glasgow, it's desired said bill with interest may be paid to said Anderson, Mr Anderson having satisfied for the like sume here to the Synod in consideration of the money raised by your Synod.

G. M.

Addressed: "To The Right Reverend Mr John Stirling principall of the college of Glasgow"

(Dorso) Synod Pensilvanie Nov. 15, 1718.

XXII.

LETTER OF GEORGE GILLESPIE, 1723.

This letter is No. 120 in Vol. XXII. of the Wodrow *MSS.*

Reverend Sr

Being well acquainted wth your publick spirit, for the Interest of Glorious Christ, I have embraced this opportunity, now presented, to send you this letter.

As to the affairs of Christ in our parts of the world: There are a great many congregations erected, and now erecting; for wthin the space of five years by gone, near to two hundred Families have come into our parts from Ireland, and more are following: They are generally Presbyterians. So, it would appear, yt Glorious Christ hath great designs in America; tho' I am afraid not to be effectuated in my days: for the mirs and congregations be multiplied wth us; yet alas, there is little of the power and life of Religion wth either: The Lord disappoint my fears. There are not above 30 ministers & probationer preachers in our Synod, and yet six of the said number have been grossly scandalous; Suspension for 4 Sabbaths hath been the greatest censure inflicted as yet.

Mr Alexander Hutchison was ordained upon the 6th of June

last: I preached his ordination sermon, his congregation is contiguous to mine, he answers the character given of him by the Revd Presbytery of Glasgow. One Mr Robert Laing who left Scotland about the same time wth Mr Hutchison is to be censured at our Presbytery of New-Castle upon the first Wednesday of August ensueing for Washing himself upon the Lord's day: he is the first from Scotland grossly scandalous in our parts.

Revd Sr be mindfull in your prayers of the Infant church of Christ in America, and that the Lord would purifie the sons of Levi. May the faithfull God hasten the time when he will fulfill his promise in Isa: 59. 19 That they shall fear his name from the West. Sr, I desire in particular, yt you may be mindfull of me in your prayers That I may be an honest and faithfull minister of Christ and that I may have many seals of my miry. Remember my love and Service to the Revd Mr John Simpson Professor of Theology in ye Colledge of Glasgow—and to ye laborious and diligent Mr Gersham Carmichal, who was my Regent.

The Lord be nigh unto you in Mercy
& love These from, Revd Sr
Your lover and humble Servant
GEORGE GILLESPIE.

July ye 16. 1723 at ye head of
Christiana Creek 12 miles West
from New-Castle in Pensilvania
of America.

Revd Sr

I earnestly desire of you to write to the Presbytery of Jeddbrough in order to know if ever one Mr James Moorhead was received among ym in ye Station of a minister and if so then wt certainty They had of his ordination in England and let me know per first

The foresaid is now in our bounds the Testimonial of his ordination is supposed by our Synod to be but forged.

Addressed "The Revd Mr John Stirling Principal of the Colledge in Glasgow—To the care of Mr Robert Alexander merchant and to the care of Mr Charles Miller merchant in Glasgow."

(Dorso) July 22 1723, Gillespie George—Pensylvanie.

XXIII.

LETTER OF WILLIAM STEWARD, 1726.

This letter is No. 122 in Vol. XXII. of the Wodrow *MSS.*

Sommerset in Maryld.
July 4. 1726.

Revd Sr

I'm glad of this opportunity of returning yow hearty thanks for all your former favours to me, upon Sevll occasions, particularly your kind Letters of Recommendation in my favours to Mr John Evans, a dissenting Minister in the city of London about—[torn]—years ago; which were of singular use to me at that time; & the grateful sense whereof I shall endeavour to retain during life.

There is a worthy Gentle woman in our County, one Mistress Mary Hampton, (widow of the late Revd Mr John Hampton ane eminent Gospll Minr in this County;) that designs to send her Eldest son Robert Henry, (her son by her second husband, the late Revd Mr John Henry another worthy dissenting Minr in the County afors'd,) to your University in Glasgow. Please give this young stranger your countenance & your best advice, together with a share in your most serious minutes: His mother has been, & still continues, under God, a great & chief support to the Interest of Religion in these parts, & has put more than common respect upon the Ministers of the Gospell.

This with my kind respects to yow, & your dear Consort, not forgetting your worthy Brother, my late kind Benefactor: & pray for poor unworthy me a weak Labourer in our common Lord's vineyard. This from him who is,

Revd Sr
Yours in the Lord.
WILLIAM STEWARD.

P. S.

Please give your self the trouble to send me Acct what proficiency this young Student makes & that wt the first.

Addressed "To the Rev. Mr John Stirling Principal of the University of Glasgow these pr Mr Joseph Kinneir Mercht."

XXIV.

LETTER OF ALEXANDER HUCHESON, 1724.

This letter is No. 121 in Vol. XXII. of the Wodrow *MSS.*

Revd Sir

I am not willing to be unmindfull of your kindness to me at the University & therfor I make bold to give you the trouble of this. I suppose ye prevent my desire to pray for the success of the Gospill in these parts. a Letter from yow would be very refreshfull to me in a strange Land; if ye knew how much I desire a line from yow, I hope ye would not spare the pains, I dare not be too bold because ye have other things of importance to mind but I earnestly beg it as a singular favour, it will render me a little uneasy if I am not so much favoured of yow: Please direct your Letter to me at Broad-creek or Bohemia River in Cecil county in Maryland The Head of Chesapeak Bay: Let me know how the Gospill prospers with yow: I offer my Humble service to Professor Simpson & my old Regents Mr Carmichael, Mr Dunlap & Mr Monthland; Mr James Stirling your Brother & Mr Hamilton, Mr Scott, Mr Gray & other ministers if I may trouble yow so far; Hopeing ye will favour me with a line tho' never so short & wishing the Lord may make yow a Blessing in your station I subscribe myself

Revd Sir

Your very Humble & indebted Servt

Alexr Hucheson

At Doctor Buchelle's Lodgeing upon Bohemia in Cecil County in Maryland at the head of Chesapeak Bay July 15: 1724.

Please to mind all ministers & Serious Christians to remember the Gospill in these parts. the double measures of Gods power would seem to be necessary here; Remember me kindly to your Brother if he would favour me with a line also I would rejoyce in it. I shall not truble him further at this time: The professor nor Mr Gray have not been so kind as to write to me. I own I am unworthy The vessell I write with should return hither.

Addressed: "To The Revd Mr John Stirling Principall of the College of Glasgow at his Lodgeing there Glasgow in North Brittain."

(Dorso) Hutcheson July 1724. Maryland.

XXV.

CHARGES AGAINST PROFESSOR SIMSON.

There is a great amount of confusion in all the representations of the case of Prof. Simson, which we have seen, apart from the official documents. We have, from the latter, formed a more favorable view of the opinions of this distinguished teacher of so many of the Scotch and Irish Presbyterian ministers who came to America. It is interesting to notice some of the errors charged against him and compare them with the views of orthodox divines at the present time. The following are some of them:

"That by the light of nature, and Works of Creation and Providence, including Tradition, God hath given an obscure, objective revelation unto all men, of his being reconcilable to sinners, and that the *heathen* may know there is a remedy for sin provided, which may be called an implicite or obscure revelation of the Gospel; that it is probable; that none are excluded from the benefits of the remedy for sin, provided by God, and published twice to the world, except those, who, by their actual sin, exclude themselves, and slight or reject, either the clearer light of the gospel, revealed to the church, or that obscure discovery and offer of grace made to all without the church. That if the heathen, in the use of the means they have, would seek the knowledge of the way of reconciliation, God would discover it to them. That there are means appointed by God for obtaining saving grace, which means, when diligently used with seriousness, sincerity and faith of being heard, God hath promised to bless with success; and that the going about these means in the foresaid manner, is not above the reach of our natural ability and power. That ratio, ut sumitur pro evidentibus propositionibus naturaliter revelatis, est principium seu fundamentum theologiæ; and that nothing is to be admitted in Religion but what is agreeable to reason, and determined by reason to be so. That it is inconsistent with the justice and goodness of God, to create a soul without original righteousness or dispositions to good. And the souls of infants since the fall, as they came from the hands of their creator, are as pure and holy, as the souls of infants could have been created, supposing man had not fallen; and that they are created as pure and holy as Adam was created, except as to

those qualifications and habits, which he received as being created in an adult state.

"That there was not a proper covenant made with Adam for himself and his posterity. That Adam was not a federal head to his posterity; and that if Adam was made a federal head, it must be by a divine command, which is not found in the Bible.

"That it is more than probable, that all unbaptized infants dying in infancy are saved; and that it is manifest, if God should deny his grace to all, or any of the children of infidels, he would deal more severely with them, than he did with fallen angels.

"That were it not for the prospect of happiness, we could not, and therefore would not serve God.

"That there will be no sinning in Hell after the last judgment." (See *Continuation of the Second Edition of the case of Mr. John Simson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.* Edinburgh, 1728.)

XXVI.

CERTIFICATE OF THE ORDINATION OF NATHAN BASSETT.

Whereas the Presbyterian Church of Christ in Charlestown in South Carolina, lately by death bereaved of their worthy pastor, Mr. William Livingston, have by their letters now lying before us addressed for a pious, able Presbyterian ordained pastor to be sent unto them by the first opportunity to minister unto them God's word and ordinances, and to take care of their souls. And whereas Mr. Nathan Bassett of Harvard College of Cambridge in New England Master of Arts upon applications made to him is inclined by God to undertake the proposed mission and to go over on the sacred service aforesaid. And wee having a proper and full satisfaction in our own minds in the said Mr. Bassett respecting his proficiency in his studies, his unblamable life and conversation and his abilities and fitness (through grace) to serve our Lord Jesus Christ and his church in the Work and office of a minister. These may therefore testifye and declare unto all whom it may concern, that upon the 19 day of April 1724 we whose names are hereunto subscribed, being pastors in Boston and Cambridge in New England, have proceeded solemnly and publickly to set him apart for the office of a Presbyter and for the Work of a minister of Christ by prayer and the laying on of our

hands according to the direction of the Gospel. By virtue whereof we do declare him to be a lawfull and sufficient authorized minister of Jesus Christ. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands at Boston this 14 day of April in the year of our Lord 1724. Cotton Mather, Benjn Colman, Nathl Appleton, Willm Cooper. (*Letter Book S. P. G.*,)

XXVII.

THE PROTESTATION PRESENTED TO THE SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1741.

Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

We, the ministers of Jesus Christ, and members of the Synod of Philadelphia, being wounded and grieved at our very hearts, at the dreadful divisions, distractions, and convulsions, which all of a sudden have seized this infant church to such a degree, that unless He, who is King in Zion, do graciously and seasonably interpose for our relief, she is in no small danger of expiring outright, and that quickly, as to the form, order, and constitution, of an organized church, which hath subsisted for above these thirty years past, in a very great degree of comely order and sweet harmony, until of late—we say, we being deeply afflicted with these things which lie heavy on our spirits, and being sensible that it is our indispensable duty to do what lies in our power, in a lawful way, according to the light and direction of the inspired oracles, to preserve this swooning church from a total expiration: and after the deliberate and unprejudiced inquiry into the causes of these confusions which rage so among us, both ministers and people, we evidently seeing, and being fully persuaded in our judgments, that besides our misimprovement of, and unfruitfulness under, gospel light, liberty, and privileges, that great decay of practical godliness in the life and power of it, and many abounding immoralities: we say, besides these, our sins, which we judge to be the meritorious cause of our present doleful distractions, the awful judgment we at present groan under, we evidently see that our protesting brethren and their adherents, were the direct and proper cause thereof, by their unwearied, unscriptural, antipresbyterial, uncharitable, di-

visive practices, which they have been pursuing, with all the industry they were capable of, with any probability of success, for above these twelve months past especially, besides too much of the like practices for some years before, though not with such barefaced arrogance and boldness:

And being fully convinced in our judgments, that it is our duty to bear testimony against these disorderly proceedings, according to our stations, capacity, and trust reposed in us by our exalted Lord, as watchmen on the walls of his Zion, we having endeavoured sincerely to seek counsel and direction from God, who hath promised to give wisdom to those that ask him in faith, yea, hath promised his Holy Spirit to lead his people and servants into all truth, and being clearly convinced in our consciences, that it is a duty called unto in this present juncture of affairs:

Reverend Fathers and Brethren, we hereby humbly and solemnly protest, in the presence of the great and eternal God, and his elect angels, as well as in the presence of all here present, and particularly to you, Reverend Brethren, in our own names, and in the names of all, both ministers and people, who shall adhere to us, as follows:

1. We protest that it is the indispensable duty of this Synod, to maintain and stand by the principles of doctrine, worship, and government, of the Church of Christ, as the same are summed up in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Directory, composed by the Westminster Assembly, as being agreeable to the word of God, and which this Synod have owned, acknowledged, and adopted, as may appear by our synodical records of the years 1729, 1736, which we desire to be read publicly.

2. We protest that no person, minister or elder, should be allowed to sit and vote in this Synod, who hath not received, adopted, or subscribed, the said Confessions, Catechisms, and Directory, as our Presbyteries respectively do, according to our last explication of the adopting act; or who is either accused or convicted, or may be convicted before this Synod, or any of our Presbyteries, of holding or maintaining any doctrine, or who act and persist in any practice, contrary to any of those doctrines, or rules contained in said Directory, or contrary to any of the known rights of Presbytery, or orders made or agreed to by this Synod, and which stand yet unrepealed, unless, or until he renounce such doctrine, and being found guilty, acknowledge, confess, and profess his sorrow for such sinful disorder, to the satis-

faction of this Synod, or such inferior judicatory as the Synod shall appoint or empower for that purpose.

3. We protest that all our protesting brethren have at present no right to sit and vote as members of this Synod, having forfeited their right of being accounted members of it for many reasons, a few of which we shall mention afterwards.

4. We protest that, if, notwithstanding of this our protestation, these brethren be allowed to sit and vote in this Synod, without giving suitable satisfaction to the Synod, and particularly to us, who now enter this protestation, and those who adhere to us in it, that whatsoever shall be done, voted, or transacted by them, contrary to our judgment, shall be of no force or obligation to us, being done and acted by a judicatory consisting in part of members who have no authority to act with us in ecclesiastical matters.

5. We protest that, if, notwithstanding this our protestation, and contrary to the true intent and meaning of it, these protesting brethren, and such as adhere to them, or support and countenance them in their antipresbyterial practices, shall continue to act as they have done this last year, in that case we, and as many as have clearness to join with us, and maintain the rights of this judicatory, shall be accounted in nowise disorderly, but the true Presbyterian Church in this province; and they shall be looked upon as guilty of schism, and the breach of the rules of Presbyterial government, which Christ has established in his church, which we are ready at all times to demonstrate to the world.

Reverend and dear Brethren, we beseech you to hear us with patience, while we lay before you as briefly as we can, some of the reasons that move us thus to protest, and more particularly, why we protest against our protesting brethren's being allowed to sit as members of this Synod.

1. Their heterodox and anarchical principles expressed in their Apology, pages twenty-eight and thirty-nine, where they expressly deny that Presbyteries have authority to oblige their dissenting members, and that Synods should go any further, in judging of appeals or references, etc., than to give their best advice, which is plainly to divest the officers and judicatories of Christ's kingdom of all authority, (and plainly contradicts the thirty-first article of our Confession of Faith, section three, which these brethren pretend to adopt,) agreeable to which is the whole

superstructure of arguments which they advance and maintain against not only our synodical acts, but also all authority to make any acts or orders that shall bind their dissenting members, throughout their whole Apology.

2. Their protesting against the Synod's act in relation to the examination of candidates, together with their proceeding to license and ordain men to the ministry of the gospel, in opposition to, and in contempt of said act of Synod.

3. Their making irregular irruptions upon the congregations to which they have no immediate relation, without order, concurrence, or allowance of the Presbyteries or ministers to which congregations belong, thereby sowing the seeds of division among people, and doing what they can to alienate and fill their minds with unjust prejudices against their lawfully called pastors.

4. Their principles and practice of rash judging and condemning all who do not fall in with their measures, both ministers and people, as carnal, graceless, and enemies to the work of God, and what not, as appears in Mr. Gilbert Tennent's sermon against unconverted ministers, and his and Mr. Blair's papers of May last, which were read in open Synod; which rash judging has been the constant practice of our protesting brethren, and their irregular probationers, for above these twelve months past, in their disorderly itinerations and preaching through our congregations, by which, (alas! for it,) most of our congregations, through weakness and credulity, are so shattered and divided, and shaken in their principles, that few or none of us can say we enjoy the comfort, or have the success among our people, which otherwise we might, and which we enjoyed heretofore.

5. Their industriously persuading people to believe that the call of God whereby he calls men to the ministry, does not consist in their being regularly ordained and set apart to that work, according to the institution and rules of the word; but in some invisible motions and workings of the Spirit, which none can be conscious or sensible of but the person himself, and with respect to which he is liable to be deceived, or play the hypocrite; that the gospel preached in truth by unconverted ministers, can be of no saving benefit to souls; and their pointing out such ministers, whom they condemn as graceless by their rash judging spirit, they effectually carry the point with the poor credulous people, who, in imitation of their example, and under their patrociny,

judge their ministers to be graceless, and forsake their ministry as hurtful rather than profitable.

6. Their preaching the terrors of the law in such a manner and dialect as has no precedent in the word of God, but rather appears to be borrowed from a worse dialect; and so industriously working on the passions and affections of weak minds, as to cause them to cry out in a hideous manner, and fall down in convulsion-like fits, to the marring of the profiting both of themselves and others, who are so taken up in seeing and hearing these odd symptoms, that they cannot attend to or hear what the preacher says; and then, after all, boasting of these things as the work of God, which we are persuaded do proceed from an inferior or worse cause.

7. Their, or some of them, preaching and maintaining that all true converts are as certain of their gracious state as a person can be of what he knows by his outward senses; and are able to give a narrative of the time and manner of their conversion, or else they conclude them to be in a natural or graceless state, and that a gracious person can judge of another's gracious state otherwise than by his profession and life. That people are under no sacred tie or relation to their own pastors lawfully called, but may leave them when they please, and ought to go where they think they get most good.

For these and many other reasons, we protest, before the Eternal God, his holy angels, and you, Reverend Brethren, and before all here present, that these brethren have no right to be acknowledged as members of this judicatory of Christ, whose principles and practices are so diametrically opposite to our doctrine, and principles of government and order, which the great King of the Church hath laid down in his word.

How absurd and monstrous must that union be, where one part of the members own themselves obliged, in conscience, to the judicial determinations of the whole, founded on the word of God, or else relinquish membership; and another part declare, they are not obliged and will not submit, unless the determination be according to their minds, and consequently will submit to no rule, in making of which they are in the negative.

Again, how monstrously absurd is it, that they should so much as desire to join with us, or we with them, as a judicatory, made up of authoritative officers of Jesus Christ, while they openly condemn us wholesale; and, when they please, apply their con-

demnatory sentences to particular brethren by name, without judicial process, or proving them guilty of heresy or immorality, and at the same time will not hold Christian communion with them.

Again, how absurd is the union, while some of the members of the same body, which meet once a year, and join as a judicatory of Christ, do all the rest of the year what they can, openly and above board, to persuade the people and flocks of their brethren and fellow members, to separate from their own pastors, as graceless hypocrites, and yet they do not separate from them themselves, but join with them once every year, as members of the same judicatory of Christ, and oftener, when Presbyteries are mixed. Is it not most unreasonable, stupid indolence in us, to join with such as are avowedly tearing us in pieces like beasts of prey?

Again, is not the continuance of union with our protesting brethren very absurd, when it is so notorious that both their doctrine and practice are so directly contrary to the adopting act, whereby both they and we have adopted the Confession of Faith, Catechisms and Directory, composed by the Westminster Assembly?

Finally, is not continuance of union absurd with those who would arrogate to themselves a right and power to palm and obtrude members on our Synod, contrary to the minds and judgment of the body?

In fine, a continued union, in our judgment, is most absurd and inconsistent, when it is so notorious, that our doctrine and principles of church government, in many points, are not only diverse, but directly opposite. For how can two walk together, except they be agreed?

Reverend Fathers and Brethren, these are a part, and but a part, of our reasons why we protest as above, and which we have only hinted at, but have forborne to enlarge on them as we might, the matter and substance of them are so well known to you all, and the whole world about us, that we judged this hint sufficient at present, to declare our serious and deliberate judgment in the matter; and as we profess ourselves to be resolvedly against principles and practice of both anarchy and schism, so we hope that God, whom we desire to serve and obey, the Lord Jesus Christ, whose ministers we are, will both direct and enable us to conduct ourselves, in these trying times, so as our con-

sciences shall not reproach us as long as we live. Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered, and let them that hate him fly before him, but let the righteous be glad, yea, let them exceedingly rejoice. And may the spirit of life and comfort revive and comfort this poor swooning and fainting church, quicken her to spiritual life, and restore her to the exercise of true charity, peace, and order.

Although we can freely, and from the bottom of our hearts, justify the Divine proceedings against us, in suffering us to fall into these confusions for our sins, and particularly for the great decay of the life and power of godliness among all ranks, both ministers and people, yet we think it to be our present duty to bear testimony against these prevailing disorders, judging that to give way to the breaking down the hedge of discipline and government from about Christ's vineyard, is far from being the proper method of causing his tender plants to grow in grace and fruitfulness.

As it is our duty in our station, without delay to set about a reformation of the evils whereby we have provoked God against ourselves, so we judge the strict observation of his laws of government and order, and not the breaking of them, to be one necessary mean and method of this necessary and much to be desired reformation. And we doubt not, but when our God sees us duly humbled and penitent for our sins, he will yet return to us in mercy, and cause us to flourish in spiritual life, love, unity, and order, though perhaps we may not live to see it, yet this testimony that we now bear, may be of some good use to our children yet unborn, when God shall arise and have mercy on Zion.

Ministers: Robert Cross, John Thomson, Francis Alison, Robert Cathcart, Richard Zanchy, John Elder, John Craig, Samuel Caven, Samuel Thomson, Adam Boyd, James Martin, Robert Jamison.

Elders: Robert Porter, Robert McKnight, William McCulloch, John McEwen, Robert Rowland, Robert Craig, James Kerr, Alexander McKnight.

XXVIII.

LETTER OF SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA TO PRESIDENT CLAP.

VERY REVEREND SIR:—We received the favour of yours of the 21st of November last, and acknowledge our obligation to the President and Fellows of Yale College for considering our request and expressing their readiness to promote the interest of religion and learning among us.

We agree with you that the affair is of great importance, and are willing to satisfy you to the utmost as to the plan and constitution of our school, and the present state of our Synod, under whose care it is. Some years ago our Synod found the interest of Christ's kingdom likely to suffer in these parts for want of a college for the education of young men. And our supplies either from Europe or New England were few in proportion to the numerous vacancies in our growing settlements. Mr. William Tennent set up a school among us, where some were educated, and afterwards admitted to the ministry without sufficient qualifications as was judged by many of the Synod. And what made the matter look worse, those that were educated in this private way decried the usefulness of some parts of learning that we thought very necessary. It was therefore agreed to try to erect a college, and apply to our friends in Britain, and Ireland, and New England to assist us. We wrote to the Association of Boston on this head, and had a very favourable answer. But when we were thus projecting our plan, and appointing commissioners to Britain, etc., to promote the thing, the war with Spain was proclaimed, which put a stop to our proceedings then. The Synod then came to a public agreement to take all private schools where young men were educated for the ministry so far under their care as to appoint a committee of our Synod to examine all such as had not obtained degrees in the European or New England colleges, and give them certificates if they were found qualified, which was to serve our Presbyteries instead of a college diploma, till better provision could be made. Mr. Gilbert Tennent cried out that this was to prevent his father's school for training gracious men for the ministry; and he, and some of his adherents, protested against it, and counteracted this our public agreement, admitting men to the ministry which we judged unfit for that office, which course they persisted in though admon-

ished and reproved by us for such unwarrantable proceedings. While these debates subsisted, Mr. Whitefield came into the country, whom they drew into their party to encourage divisions. And they and he have been the sad instruments of dividing our churches. And by his interest Mr. Gilbert Tennent grew hardy enough to tell our Synod he would oppose their design of getting assistance to erect a college wherever we should make application, and would maintain young men at his father's school in opposition to us. This, with his and his adherents' divisive practices, obliged the Synod to exclude him and others of his stamp, from their communion. In this situation our affairs grew worse; for our vacancies were numerous, and we found it hard in such trouble to engage such gentlemen either from New England or Europe to come among us, as our best friends in those places could recommend as steadfast in the faith, and men of parts and education. Upon this the Synod erected a school in the year 1744. It was agreed that the said school should be opened under the inspection of the Synod, where the languages, philosophy, and divinity should be taught gratis, to all that should comply with the regulation of the school, being persons of good character and behaviour. They appointed a master and tutor for this business, who were to be paid by such contributions as the Synod could obtain for this purpose; and agreed, from year to year, to appoint trustees to meet twice a year to inspect the master's diligence and method of teaching, to direct what authors are chiefly to be read in the several branches of learning, to examine the scholars as to their proficiency and good conduct, and apply the money procured to such uses as they judge proper, and to order all affairs relating unto the school. And the trustees are yearly to be accountable to the Synod, and to make report of their proceedings, and the state of the school. And it is agreed, that after said scholars pass the course of studies prescribed them, they shall be publicly examined by the said trustees, and such ministers as the Synod shall think fit to appoint, and if approved receive testimonials of their approbation, and without such testimonials none of the Presbyteries under the care of our Synod shall improve any of our scholars in the ministry. From this narrative you see how narrow our foundation is, and yet how necessary it was that we should do something of this nature to prevent our being overrun with ignorance and confusion. You see how we have been

straitened by the endeavours of some that belonged to our body, who in their zeal have spoken diminutively of all the reformed churches, and endeavoured to pour contempt on colleges and universities. We hope, therefore, you will enable us to make a stand against those evils, and to be united with you in this grand design, is one reason of our present application. We can with pleasure inform you that our poor undertaking has been so blessed by Providence as to exceed our expectations. Several ministers and gentlemen have helped us to books to begin a library; and we hope that in time we may obtain assistance from England, Ireland, and elsewhere, to enable us to found a college, though the troubles of the times hinder our application at present. We have not obtained a charter as yet, but have reason to hope we may procure one if there be occasion; but have another way judged by our best lawyers a good foundation to secure donations, by appointing trustees and obliging them to give declarations of trust. We have also, belonging to our Synod, a considerable fund for public uses, but have no occasion hitherto, to apply any of it to the use of the school, being otherwise supplied. What hath been said may satisfy you that our school is under such regulation as does as nearly correspond with yours as our present circumstances will admit; but we shall readily make any amendments that you desire if it be in our power. We are obliged to admit boys to read grammar but are determined to recommend none but such as have made a good proficiency in the languages, and are in some measure acquainted with the usual course of study in the arts and sciences now used in the British colleges, though we freely acknowledge our vast disadvantages, especially in natural philosophy, and will cheerfully agree, as far as our circumstances will permit, that the same, or generally the same, authors, on the arts and sciences be taught in our school as are used by you; and would gladly be favoured with a particular account of them. The time of stay with you which you mention, and the expenses, we think reasonable; yet, as learning is not in the same esteem in this government as in New England, we beg all the indulgence your constitution can allow us, lest parents grudge expenses if they run high. We heartily agree that our scholars be examined by the President and Fellows, and be treated only according to their proficiency; that they be obliged to bring recommendations from our Synod, or trustees of the school, and shall claim no

precedency in your classes, nor the privilege of freshmen, but what are consistent with the good order of your college. Nor do we plead any such privilege for any but the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, or the parts that are as far distant from New Haven, and are educated under our care, and have synodical recommendations. We further assure you, that improving in the ministry such scholars as you expelled, has been as offensive to us as to you. And those which joined with the Tennents and their party in this affair, as we understand, have withdrawn from our synodical communion, and joined with them entirely under the denomination of the Synod of New York. As to the Synod's constitution, we are unanimously agreed in the same plan in every respect on which we constituted, and continued in our most flourishing circumstances; so we are, to a man, dissatisfied with the late divisive practices, and would soon, we hope, be in a flourishing state again had we ministers to supply our vacancies. We excluded from synodical communion, as we remarked already, the four Tennents, Blair, Craighead, (who is since turned a rigid Covenanter, or Cameronian,) Treat, and Mr. Wales. These, especially the Tennents, Blair, and Treat, being the ringleaders of our divisions, and the destroyers of good learning and gospel order among us; and they, with a few others that joined with them, erected themselves into a separate body, and licensed and ordained men for the work of the ministry that were generally ignorant, and warm in the divisive scheme, and they have troubled Virginia, and the New English government, and as we are informed, pretend that they belong to our body. But we can assure you, that Mr. Gilbert Tennent, and his adherents, were disowned as members, and excluded communion, before his famous tour through the churches of New England. Some of our brethren of New York Presbytery, whom we esteem and regard, particularly Messrs. Dickinson, Pierson, and Pemberton, have always as freely, till lately, blamed those practices as any of us; but now, through some unhappy bias, are become warm advocates for them, and blaming our method of excluding them, have for two or three years past laboured to procure them seats among us, without acknowledging their faults in dividing our churches, and promising amendment before we receive them again. And we believe that their partiality for these men might occasion them to join in encouraging some of your disorderly scholars which we are far from vindicating. When these gentle-

men could not succeed in their attempt to bring in those itinerants without acknowledging their faults, as we said, they withdrew from the Synod, declaring that they had no other ground to do so but our excluding those members in a way they disliked; and last September they erected themselves into a Synod, which goes under the name of the Synod of New York. And we have now before us a letter desiring correspondence with them, by receiving two or three of their members to sit with us yearly, and sending as many to them. They also propose that we should every third year meet in some convenient place, by delegates, to order public affairs for the glory of God, and good of the church. The proposals seem fair, but till these dividers of our churches, and who chiefly make up that body, declare against the late divisive, uncharitable practices; till they show us in what way they intend to have their youth educated for the ministry, and be as ready to discourage all such methods of bringing all good learning into contempt as the shepherd's tent, we shall be shy to comply with their proposals.

Thus, sir, we have given you a just account both of the Synod and school at present, by which you may understand the difficulties we labour under; and we doubt not but your sincere desire to promote the interest of religion and learning among us will incline you to do all in your power for our help and encouragement. You will be pleased to communicate this to the corporation, and if they think fit to take any notice of it, we will depend on them to favour us with an answer. We heartily wish the Divine blessing on your labours in the ministry, and in training up youth for that sacred work, and pray that your college may flourish and become more and more a blessing, not only to New England, but the neighbouring colonies, and we beg leave to assure you that to maintain a Christian, friendly correspondence with you will be a great pleasure to, very Reverend Sir, your affectionate brethren and humble servants. (*Records*, pp. 186–188.)

XXIX.

ACT FOR A COLLECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

We have taken the following extract from the MS. Minutes of the Church of Scotland:

1754, May 31st, Sess. 8.

The Committee formerly named to prepare an Act and Recommendation for a voluntary Collection for the College of New Jersey brought in their draught thereof in writing, which being read was after some Amendments, approven of by the Assembly as follows viz. At Edinburgh the thirty-first Day of May one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, which Day, There was presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Tennent and Mr. Samuel Davies two Petitions, the one from the Synod of New York and the other from the Trustees of the College of New Jersey bearing That a College has lately been erected in the Province of New Jersey by his Majesty's Royal Charter, in which a number of Youth have been already educated, who now begin to be useful both to Church and State; and from very small Beginnings, the Number of Students is now increased to about sixty who are under the Care of the President and two Tutors, But that after all the Contributions that have been made to the said College, or can be raised in these grants, the fund is far from being sufficient for the erection of proper Buildings, Supporting the President and Tutors furnishing a Library and defraying other necessary expences.—That the erecting of such a College is of the utmost importance to the interests of Learning and Religion in that infant Country, and what the deplorable circumstances of the Churches there do greatly require. That in the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsilvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina a great number of Congregations have been formed upon the Presbyterian Plan which have put themselves under the care of the said Synod who conform to the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, and have adopted her Standards of Doctrine, Worship and Discipline and there are also large Settlements lately planted in various parts particularly in North and South Carolina,where multitudes are extremely desireous of the Ministrations of the Gospel but are not formed into Congregations for Want of Ministers. That Notwithstanding the most painful endeavours of the said Synod who have sent their Members and Candidates to officiate sometimes among these numerous Bodies of People so widely dispersed, and used all practicable measures for the Education of pious Youths for the Ministry, they have been utterly incapable to make sufficient Provision for so many shepherdless fflocks. That the Number of Ministers in the said

Synod is far from being equal to that of the Congregations under their Care, and though sundry youth have been lately licensed ordained and settled in Congregations that were before destitute, yet they have just now no less than fforty vacant Congregations, besides many more, which are unable at present to support Ministers, and the whole Colony of North Carolina where numerous Congregations of Presbyterians are forming, and where there is not one Presbyterian Minister now settled. That for these Reasons unless some effectual Measures can be taken for the Education of proper Persons for the Sacred Character the Churches of Christ in these parts must Continue in the most destitute Circumstances, thousands perishing for lake of knowledge and the rising age growing up in a state little better than that of Heathenism, with regard to the publick Ministrations of the Gospel. That as the difficulty and, in some cases, the impossibility, of sending youths from some hundreds of miles to the Colleges in New England, is evident, as from the College of New Jersey alone they can expect a Remedy of these Inconveniencies and a sufficient supply of accomplished Ministers. That in this necessitous state the Petitioners most earnestly pray for the Countenance and Assistance of the Assembly, The Young Daughter of the Church of Scotland, helpless and exposed in this foreign Land, Cries to her tender and powerful Mother for Relief; The Cries of Ministers oppressed with Labours, and of Congregations famishing for Want of the sincere milk of the word, implore Assistance, and were the poor Indian Savages sensible of their own Case they would join in the Crie and beg for more Missionaries to be sent to propagate the Religion of Jesus among them, That the said Synod and Trustees had therefor sent over the above mentioned Masters Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies as their Commissioners to present their humble Solicitations praying that the General Assembly would pass an Act for a Collection in favour of the said College. The General Assembly having considered the above Petition together with the Certificates and Recommendations therewith produced by the said two Reverend Ministers; and being sensible that the Encouraging of the said College is of great importance to the Interests of Religion and learning and the support and further avancement of the Kingdom of Christ in those parts of the World, Do therefore authorise and appoint a Collection to be made at the Church Doors of all the Parishes in Scotland upon any Lord's Day betwixt this and

the first of January next the particular Day to be fixed by the several Presbyteries as they find to be most convenient for the Parishes in their Bounds; and that the money Collected within the Bounds of the Synods of Glasgow and Air and Argyle be paid in to Baillie Archibald Ingram Mercht in Glasgow and that collected within the Bounds of the other Synods in Scotland be paid in to Mr. William Hogg and Son Merchts in Glasgow, And the General Assembly do earnestly recommend to all, to contribute according to their ability to this useful and charitable Design, and ordains this Act and Recommendation to be read from the pulpits of all the Churches in Scotland the Sabbath immediately preceeding the Day that shall be named for making the said Collection, and that Ministers at reading thereof enforce the same with Suitable Exhortations, and Presbyteries, at their first Meeting after the Day fixed for making the Collection, are hereby appointed to call for an Account from their several Members if the same hath been made And the General Assembly recommend to Ministers to apply to the Nobility and Gentry as they may have an opportunity in order to obtain their Charitable Assistance in this matter and the Clerks are appointed to transmit the said Act to the several Presbyteries as soon as possible.

XXX.

ACTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FOR THE HELP OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCHES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

We have taken the following extract from the MS. Minutes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, access to which was freely granted in the summer of 1884 through the kindness of Prof. A. F. Mitchell, D.D., and Mr. Douglas:

Report of the Committee with reference to Pensilvania

1752, May 22

Sess. 8

Upon Report of the Committee appointed yesterday to inspect the Vouchers of the Reverend Mr David Thomson Minister of Amsterdam Petitioner in behalf of the German Protestants in Pensilvania and North America, The General Assembly caused

to be read three Letters presented by the said Mr Thomson, one from the six deputys of the Provincial Synod of Holland, another from the Presbytery of Amsterdam, and a third from the Consistory of the English Church there, all setting forth and enforcing the purpose of his petition and Commissioning him to agent the same.

And the Assembly having also heard the said Mr Thomson himself, and being fully satisfied of the ground and importance of his application, Did agree to the following Act and Recommendation Vizt The General Assembly had transmitted to them from their Committee for Bills A Petition of the Reverend Mr David Thomson Minister of the English reformed Church in Amsterdam in behalf of the German Protestant Churches settled in Pensilvania and North America shewing, That great numbers of Poor Protestants having for many years past gone from diverse parts of Germany and Switzerland to settle with their ffamilys in the British Colonys of North America and having represented to the Protestant Churches of Holland their distressed circumstances in their new Settlements thro' their want of Ministers to instruct them and their utter Inability to maintain them and earnestly implored their assistance, they obtained from the said Churches several years ago a liberal Collection for these purposes but that the provision thereby made for them proved greatly insufficient to answer their necessitys, especially as their numbers considerably increased from year to year by the arrival of many persons & ffamilys from Germany and Switzerland and neighbouring places, That the unhappy State of their affairs being weel known to their Brethern in Switzerland, the Reverend Mr Michael Schlatter Minister of St Gall in that Country was in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourty six, sent to visite them, who having spent more than four years among them, and upon his return last year lay before the Churches, and Ministers of Holland a particular Account of the necessitous Circumstances of their Brethern in these Colonys, ffrom which it appears that in ffortysix Congregations consisting of upwards of Thirty thousand persons, and these greatly scattered thro' the Country they had only four Ministers to preach and administer the Sacraments to them, that they were almost entirely destitute of Bibles Testaments and Books of practical Religion in that Language which alone they understand, and had hardly any School-Masters for the Instruction of their Chil-

dren, that in Consequence of this, the Sentiments of Religion which many of them carried out of their own Country were greatly worn off, whilst others of them are filled with the most distressing apprehensions lest themselves and their ffamilys should gradually degenerate into the darkness and Idolatory of the Indian Nations, or fall a prey to the Superstitions and Idolatrys of Popery, Togertherwith which Account the said Mr Schlatter presented a very solemn and moving Address from the Chief of the German Protestants there, earnestly entreating their fellow Christians and Protestants to give them their kind assistance in these their melancholy circumstances that they and their posterity might be preserved from the falling away entirely from the knowledge and practice of Christianity. That the Case having been represented to the States of Holland and West ffriesland their High Mightinesses (under the auspicious Influence of his late Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange of Glorious Memory) had given considerable Encouragement to the pious design of assisting and Supplying these poor desolate Congregations, and many in Amsterdam and other places had been very generous and liberal upon this Occasion, That the Synods of Holland having been doing in their power for their Relief and support, and were just now sending them six more Ministers for carrying on the work of the Gospell among them, But that notwithstanding all that hath been done the Circumstances of that people loudly call for a further supply in order to provide but tolerable Subsistance for Ministers and School-Masters and purchase Bibles and other Books necessary for their Religious instruction. For which reason the Deputys chosen by the Synods of Holland for promoting this Charitable Work, together with the Presbytery of Amsterdam and the Consistory of the English reformed Church these had Commisioned the said Mr David Thomson to apply to their Brethern in Great Brittain and Ireland and earnestly implore their assistance in this common Cause of Christianity and the Protestant Religion, And the said Petitioner presented to the Assembly Letters as his Credentials from the three Reverend Bodys above mentioned, and also referred to Copys and Extracts from Mr Schlatters Journalls and from the Resolutions of the Resolutions of the Provincial Synods and the states of Holland and West ffriesland giving the fullest accounts of the State and Situation of these German Protestants in the British Colonys and of what steps have been taken

and are now taking for their assistance. That as this is a Cause in which the Protestant in General and Great Britain in particular is immediately concerned as the persons imploring Relief are Protestants, as they are the Subjects of the British Crown, and firmly attached to its interests, both in civil and religious principles, as they Cultivate a Country which in time of peace maintains a flourishing Trade, and in time of war Supplies assistance of various kinds against the common Enemy, It was therefore humbly hoped that the Church of Scotland would concur with those of the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland in Promoting so Worthy and Catholic a design, on the success of which the present and future Happiness of so many Thousands and of their posterity after them depends and which under God, may be improved to the propagation of the Gospell among the neighbouring Indian Nations who as yet have never been blest with the knowledge of it, and is even necessary to Settle and Strengthen one of the principal Colonys, and thereby increase the Trade and prosperity of those Nations, and therefore Craving that the General Assembly would appoint a Contribution for the purpose above mentioned,—The General Assembly having considered the above Petition and having heard read, the Letters therein referred to from the said Deputys, Presbytery and Consistory confirming what is sett forth in the Petition, and being Sensibly affected with the distressed State of their Protestant Brethern in these British Colonys, Doe in order to their Relief appoint A Collection to be made at the Church Doors of all the Parishes in Scotland, upon the last Sabbath in November next, that is the second Sabbath of December new Stile, and the money so collected to be paid into Mr Thomas Mansfield and Mr William Hog merchants in Edinburgh, And the General Assembly ordains this Act and Recommendation to be read from the Pulpits of all the Churches in Scotland the Sabbath immediately preceeding the day named for the said Collection, and the ministers at the reading of it, to exhort the people in the most earnest manner to contribute according to their Ability for a purpose so Charitable and important.

XXXI.

THE PLAN OF UNION, 1758.

The plan of union agreed upon between the Synods of New York and Philadelphia, at their meeting at Philadelphia, May 29th, 1758.

The Synods of New York and Philadelphia, taking into serious consideration the present divided state of the Presbyterian church in this land, and being deeply sensible that the division of the church tends to weaken its interests, to dishonour religion, and consequently its glorious Author; to render government and discipline ineffectual, and finally to desolve its very frame; and being desirous to pursue such measures as may most tend to the glory of God and the establishment and edification of his people, do judge it to be our indispensable duty to study the things that make for peace, and to endeavour the healing of that breach which has for some time subsisted amongst us, that so its hurtful consequences may not extend to posterity; that all occasion of reproach upon our society may be removed, and that we may carry on the great designs of religion to better advantage than we can do in a divided state; and since both Synods continue to profess the same principles of faith, and adhere to the same form of worship, government, and discipline, there is the greater reason to endeavour the compromising those differences, which were agitated many years ago with too great warmth and animosity, and unite in one body.

For which end, and that no jealousies or grounds of alienation may remain, and also to prevent future breaches of like nature, we agree to unite and do unite in one body, under the name of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, on the following plan.

I. Both Synods having always approved and received the Westminster Confession of Faith and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, founded on the word of God, we do still receive the same as the confession of our faith, and also adhere to the plan of worship, government, and discipline, contained in the Westminster Directory, strictly enjoining it on all our members and probationers for the ministry, that they preach and teach according

to the form of sound words in said Confession and Catechisms, and avoid and oppose all errors contrary thereto.

II. That when any matter is determined by a major vote, every member shall either actively concur with, or passively submit to such determination; or, if his conscience permit him to do neither, he shall, after sufficient liberty modestly to reason and remonstrate, peaceably withdraw from our communion, without attempting to make any schism. Provided always, that this shall be understood to extend only to such determinations as the body shall judge indispensable in doctrine or Presbyterian government.

III. That any member or members, for the exoneration of his or their conscience before God, have a right to protest against any act or procedure of our highest judicature, because there is no further appeal to another for redress; and to require that such protestation be recorded in their minutes. And as such a protest is a solemn appeal from the bar of said judicature, no member is liable to prosecution on the account of his protesting. Provided always, that it shall be deemed irregular and unlawful, to enter a protestation against any member or members, or to protest facts or accusations instead of proving them, unless a fair trial be refused even by the highest judicature. And it is agreed, that protestations are only to be entered against the public acts, judgments, or determinations of the judicature with which the protester's conscience is offended.

IV. As the protestation entered in the Synod of Philadelphia, Ann. Dom. 1741, has been apprehended to have been approved and received by an act of said Synod, and on that account was judged a sufficient obstacle to an union; the said Synod declare, that they never judicially adopted the said protestation, nor do account it a Synodical act, but that it is to be considered as the act of those only who subscribed it; and therefore cannot in its nature be a valid objection to the union of the two Synods especially considering that a very great majority of both Synods have become members, since the said protestation was entered.

V. That it shall be esteemed and treated as a censurable evil, to accuse any member of heterodoxy, insufficiency, or immorality, in a calumniating manner, or otherwise than by private brotherly admonition, or by a regular process according to our known rules of judicial trial in cases of scandal. And it shall be considered in the same view, if any Presbytery appoint supplies

within the bounds of another Presbytery without their concurrence; or if any member officiate in another's congregation, without asking and obtaining his consent, or the session's in case the minister be absent; yet it shall be esteemed unbrotherly for any one, in ordinary circumstances, to refuse his consent to a regular member when it is requested.

VI. That no Presbytery shall license or ordain to the work of the ministry, any candidate, until he give them competent satisfaction as to his learning, and experimental acquaintance with religion, and skill in divinity and cases of conscience; and declare his acceptance of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms as the confession of his faith, and promise subjection to the Presbyterian plan of government in the Westminster Directory.

VII. The Synods declare it is their earnest desire, that a complete union may be obtained as soon as possible, and agree that the united Synod shall model the several Presbyteries in such manner as shall appear to them most expedient. Provided nevertheless, that Presbyteries, where an alteration does not appear to be for edification, continue in their present form. As to divided congregations it is agreed, that such as have settled ministers on both sides be allowed to continue as they are; that where those of one side have a settled minister, the other being vacant, may join with the settled minister, if a majority choose so to do; that when both sides are vacant they shall be at liberty to unite together.

VIII. As the late religious appearances occasioned much speculation and debate, the members of the New York Synod, in order to prevent any misapprehensions, declare their adherence to their former sentiments in favour of them, that a blessed work of God's Holy Spirit in the conversion of numbers was then carried on; and for the satisfaction of all concerned, this united Synod agree in declaring, that as all mankind are naturally dead in trespasses and sins an entire change of heart and life is necessary to make them meet for the service and enjoyment of God; that such a change can be only effected by the powerful operations of the Divine Spirit; that when sinners are made sensible of their lost condition and absolute inability to recover themselves, are enlightened in the knowledge of Christ and convinced of his ability and willingness to save, and upon gospel encouragements do choose him for their Saviour, and renouncing their

own righteousness in point of merit, depend upon his imputed righteousness for their justification before God, and on his wisdom and strength for guidance and support; when upon these apprehensions and exercises their souls are comforted, notwithstanding all their past guilt, and rejoice in God through Jesus Christ; when they hate and bewail their sins of heart and life, delight in the laws of God without exception, reverently and diligently attend his ordinances, become humble and selfdenied, and make it the business of their lives to please and glorify God and to do good to their fellow men; this is to be acknowledged as a gracious work of God, even though it should be attended with unusual bodily commotions or some more exceptionable circumstances, by means of infirmity, temptations, or remaining corruptions; and wherever religious appearances are attended with the good effects above mentioned, we desire to rejoice in and thank God for them.

But on the other hand, when persons seeming to be under a religious concern, imagine that they have visions of the human nature of Jesus Christ, or hear voices, or see external lights, or have fainting and convulsion-like fits, and on the account of these judge themselves to be truly converted, though they have not the Scriptural characters of a work of God above described, we believe such persons are under a dangerous delusion. And we testify our utter disapprobation of such a delusion, wherever it attends any religious appearances in any church or time.

Now as both Synods are agreed in their sentiments concerning the nature of a work of grace, and declare their desire and purpose to promote it, different judgments respecting particular matters of fact, ought not to prevent their union; especially as many of the present members have entered into the ministry since the time of the aforesaid religious appearances. Upon the whole, as the design of our union is the advancement of the Mediator's kingdom; and as the wise and faithful discharge of the ministerial function is the principal appointed mean for that glorious end, we judge that this is a proper occasion to manifest our sincere intention, unitedly to exert ourselves to fulfill the ministry we have received of the Lord Jesus. Accordingly, we unanimously declare our serious and fixed resolution, by divine aid, to take heed to ourselves that our hearts be upright, our discourse edifying and our lives exemplary for purity and godliness; to take heed to our doctrine, that it be not only orthodox but

evangelical and spiritual, tending to awaken the secure to a suitable concern for their salvation, and to instruct and encourage sincere Christians; thus commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God; to cultivate peace and harmony among ourselves, and strengthen each other's hands in promoting the knowledge of divine truth, and diffusing the savour of piety among our people. Finally we earnestly recommend it to all under our care, that instead of indulging a contentious disposition, they would love each other with a pure heart fervently, as brethren who profess subjection to the same Lord, adhere to the same faith, worship, and government, and entertain the same hope of glory. And we desire that they would improve the present union for their mutual edification, combine to strengthen the common interests of religion, and go hand in hand in the path of life; which we pray the God of all grace would please to effect for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Synod agree, that all former differences and disputes are laid aside and buried; and that no future inquiry or vote shall be proposed in this Synod concerning these things; but if any member seek a Synodical inquiry or declaration about any of the matters of our past differences, it shall be deemed a censurable breach of this agreement, and be refused, and he be rebuked accordingly.

XXXII.

THE COLLECTIONS IN SCOTLAND FOR THE POOR AND DISTRESSED PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

We give two extracts from the MS. Minutes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and one extract from the MS. Minutes of the Associate Synod (Burger).

(1.)

"Act for Collection for Pensylvania
1760, May 26. Sess. ult.

"The Committee named to prepare the Draught of an Act for a Collection for Relief of the poor and Distressed Presbyterian Ministers in the Province of Pensylvania brought in the Draught of an Act for that purpose which being read was approven of as follows viz. At Edinburgh the twentysixth Day of May One

thousand seven hundred and sixty years. Which Day there was presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by the Reverend Mr. Charles Beatty, a petition from the Corporation, for relieff of Distressed Presbyterian Ministers in the province of Pensylvania, the County of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware, and a Petition Together with a Memorial and Representation from himself bearing,—That the Melancholy Circumstances of the Church of Christ, in those parts of the American Wilderness had long been a Matter of Deep Concern and Sorrow to all who have the Interest of the Mediator's Kingdom truely at heart: That the servants of our Lord, who labour in that Uncultivated part of his Vineyard, have great and uncommon Difficulty to struggle, arising partly from the Unhappy Dispositions of too many who resort to those places, partly from Surrounding Barbarians devoid of the peacefull tractable temper which Christianity requires and partly from the situation or low Circumstances of their respective Congregations, many of them being called to preach the Gospel to the poor, Scattered throughout the wide Extended ffrontiers, who are continually Shifting their Habitations; their labour and Danger must necessarily be great, while their livings are small and, what is still worse Extreamly precarious; though to Day they may have Bread, to morrow they may be obliged to Starve, or Earn it with the sweat of their Brows. That such Hardships and Difficultys were of late Great increased, by a very afflicting Dispensation of Providence: an Indian War broke forth; a savage Barbarous Enemy prompted by the perfideous French fell on their peacefull Habitations, and Time after Time, plundered and robed, Murdered and Scalped, without regard to Age or Sex.—That as the ffrontier Countrys were mostly settled by people from Scotland and England, who have adopted the Standards of Doctrine Worship and Discipline of the Church of Scotland, their Ministers have felt the Blow severely; severall of their Congregations were Entirely broken up, and numbers of their people led into Captivity, many of whom are in Bondage among the Heathen to this Day, subjected to the Cruelest tortures, and in Danger every Moment of the Worst of Deaths: That those who have Escaped with their lives, are stript of their all their Houses burnt, the fences Destroyed, their Plantations laid Waste, and, to speak within Bounds, their Country for Sixty or Seventy Miles, a few Forts Excepted, one continued ruin; and, what afflicts them still more,

they are Deprived of the Means of Grace, being bereaved of their faithful Pastors, who were obliged to fly from place to place, reduced to the Dilemma of seeking shelter in the innermost parts of the province Distressed With War, or to go forth to repell the Enemy.—That the Honourable Gentlemen proprietors of the Province, being deeply affected with the Calamitious Circumstances of the Inhabitants, Especially those of the Presbyterian Persuasion, and sensible that their Reverend Ministers had Distinguished themselves by their Loyalty to the best of Kings in promoting Religion, Virtue and Industry, Among the people under their Care, have, out of their great Benevolance and Humanity Erected a Charitable Corporation, by Letters Patent, have cheerfully set their shoulders to this Burden, and will Exert themselves to the Utmost; But finding that all they can do will go but a short Way towards raising the sum which it necessarily requires they did Nominate and Appoint the foresaid Reverend Mr. Charles Beatty humbly to supplicate the Charitable Assistance of the General Assembly, in behalf of an Infant Daughter of the Church of Scotland, Helpless and Exposed amidst a Vast Wilderness, Without whose friendly aid many ffaithfull Ministers of Christ, and Zealous Asserters of British Liberty, will, tis to be feared, Languish in Misery and Want; many Congregations no more hear the Glad tidings of Salvation, and Vast Numbers of the rising Generation be for ever Deprived of the most inestimable Blessing, publick Institutions, and Gospel Ordinances.—The General Assembly having considered the above Petition and Representation, Together with the Certificates and Recommendations therewith produced, by the said Mr. Beatty Do authorise and appoint a Collection to be made at the Church Doors of all the parishes in Scotland on the Second Lord's Day of ffebruary next, being the Eighth day of that Month in the year One thousand seven hundred and sixtyone, hoping that a Collection for such a pious Charitable Design will meet with that favourable reception which its Importance and interesting Nature pleads for. The Assembly Do further appoint the Money that shall be collected to be paid unto Mr. William Hogg and Son, Merchants in Edinburgh to be by them immediately transmitted to the Trustees of the Charitable Corporation, who are hereby impowered and Directed, in Conjunction with a Committee of the United Synod of Philadelphia and New York, to apply such sums as they shall receive for the Support and Relief of such

Ministers as are, or may hereafter be Called to preach the Everlasting Gospel among the benighted Indians, or to such Congregations as cannot afford them sufficient maintinance. And the Assembly ordain this Act and Recommendation to be read from the pulpits in all the Churches in Scotland, the Sabbath Immediately preceeding the day named for making the said Collection with suitable exhortations."

(2.)

LETTER OF THANKS FROM THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF POOR AND DISTRESSED PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS.

"1764, June 1, Sess. 8.

"There was given in a Letter of thanks to this Venerable Assembly from the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia for the relief of poor and distressed Presbyterian Ministers and of their Widows and Children for the Charitable Donation of One Thousand two hundred and Eighty four Pounds four Shillings and Eleven pence Sterling transmitted them at Sundry times for the above purpose; which Letter was read and ordered to be recorded. The Tenor whereof follows. To the Very Reverend and Honourable the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, The Address of the Corporation in the City of Philadelphia for the relief of poor and distressed Presbyterian Ministers and of their Widows and Children, Very Reverend and Honourable Gentlemen, We the Corporation for the relief of poor and distressed Presbyterian Ministers and of their Widows and Children beg leave to Express to you the high sense We have of your Condescension and Goodness in promoting our pious and benevolent designs laid before you by our Worthy Agent the reverend Mr. Charles Beatty. To your extensive Influence and laudable Example under the smiles of a kind providence We ascribe much of our Success in England and Ireland. The Condition of our Numerous Frontier Settlements is still deplorable for want of Stated Ministers and Gospel Ordinances. The poverty of many of our Ministers and of their Widows and Children is truely distressing and these Afflictions were greatly heightened by a Most Barbarous and bloody War with the Indian Nations when We made the first Efforts for their relief, and applied to our Christian Brethren for their Charitable Assistance. From London We have had remitteinces to the amount of Twelve Hundred and Eighty four pounds four shillings and Eleven pence By Messrs.

Dennis de Berat and Company, which was paid them by Messrs. Hogg of Edinburgh, Father and Son in the name of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; which sum We thankfully accept. and beg leave to Assure you that we shall always endeavour with the utmost ffidelity to execute the Trust reposed in us according to your pious Intentions mentioned in the Act of Assembly for this purpose. We determined to know what sums of Money might be Contributed and for what purposes, before We began to make any distributions thereof, That We might execute every trust according to the directions and designs of the Charitable Donors. But since Mr. Beatty's arrival, We have contributed five hundred pounds to recover Liberty to some of our fellow Citizens and Christian friends, who have long endured a most distressing Captivity among Savage and Barbarous Enemies. We have bestowed a Considerable sum to Relieve a Society of Christian Indians that suffered greatly in the late Wars; And we have provided that proper persons be sent with all convenient speed to visit and preach among all the frontier Inhabitants, and to report how we may best promote the Kingdom of Christ among them and the Indian Nations in their Neighbourhood. We sincerely congratulate you on the prospect of a peace so honourable to our most Gracious Sovereign and the British Nation, so much for the benefite and safety of these Colonies in America, and which must afford so many and such delightful opportunities of Enlarging the Borders of Christ's Kingdom in these remote parts of the Earth. We rejoice that While the fields look white for harvest we are in some measure enabled to work as Labourers, and that we may yet confide in our Christian Brethren, for their aid in so Glorious and so extensive an undertaking. As We presume that it will give pleasure to your Venerable Assembly to be made acquainted with our proceedings, as we shall ever account it a singular felicity to merit your Esteem and approbation, and shall earnestly and constantly pray that Christ our Great Redeemer may ever preside in your Assemblies and distinguish you with peculiar honours amidst all his Churches, We are, Very Reverend and honourable Gentlemen, With the most Sincere Esteem and Respect, your most obliged and obedient humble Servants, Sealled with our Seall, and Signed in our Names and by our appointment at Philadelphia this tenth day of February One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty three by (signed) Rev. Cross, Presdt.

(3.)

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF ASSOCIATE SYNOD (BURGER).

Aug. 26, 1760.—"Transmitted likewise from the Com. of Bills and read a printed memorial and representation from Mr. Charles Beatty minister at Nishaminy in name and behalf of the Synod of York and Philadelphia, and of the corporation for the relief of poor and distressed Presbyterian ministers in the province of Pa, the counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex upon Delaware; wherein the memorialist shews what great hardships these ministers have been and still are exposed unto in preaching the everlasting gospel and promoting religion in these places, both among professed Protestants and likewise among the heathen Indians; that these ministers were exposed to these hardships by means of the very small allowances granted for their support and otherwise; whereby their families also were reduced to great wants, while they themselves were alive, and the yet still greater straits their widows and fatherless children were exposed to after their death; and so claiming the Synod's sympathy not only for the present relief of the objects of charity above mentioned, but likewise for the support of faithful ministers, employed in the work of the gospel, and in promoting the interest and kingdom of the glorious redeemer for the future, in the wilds of America; all which are more fully set forth in the memorial and representation foresaid,—The Synod having considered the same together with a letter from the foresaid Mr. Beatty to the Synod which was read; as also the report of several members who had seen and been satisfied with Mr. Beattys credentials, they agreed in recommending it to the several sessions and congregations within their bounds, to make a collection for the ends above mentioned between this and their next meeting; and further appointed that the several Presbyteries transmit their Quotas when collected to Mr. Robert Donaldson merchant of Glasgow, to remain in his hand till the Synod shall send the money over sea to those in whose favour it is collected. Moreover the Synod appointed Mess. James Fisher and John McCara to write and have in readiness a letter to be sent along with said money."

Oct. 7, 1763.—"Read a letter from Thomas Allison D.D. Sec. to the corporation in the city of Philadelphia for the relief of the

poor and distressed Presbyterian ministers and their widows and children, signed in name and by order of the said corporation, and sealed with their seal directed to Mess. John McCara and John Pattison and dated at Philadelphia Feb. 14, 1763 offering the sincere and hearty thanks of the corporation, to the Brethren of the Associate Synod and to all the charitable and well disposed friends who have contributed for spreading of the gospel among the Indians; signifying that at all times they would honour the brethrens correspondence with them; and declaring that they believed there were not anywhere in the christian churches, any number of men who were more unanimous and sincere, in believing and professing an adherence to the system of principles exhibited in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, larger and shorter, Directory for Worship and form of Church Government, professed and authorized by the church of Scotland, than in the United Synod of N. Y. & Philadelphia, and which contains several other particulars as the letter itself more fully bears.

"Read also the address of the foresaid corporation to the Associate Synod in Scotland, sealed with their seal and signed in their name, and by their appointment, at Philadelphia the 14th day of Feb. 1763 by Robert Cross Pres. and V. D. M. which address was endorsed and presented by Mess. McCara & Pattison, and sets forth the high sense they had of the condescension and goodness of the Synod in promoting their pious and benevolent designs laid before them; and offering the sincere and hearty thanks of the corporation to the Synod for their charitable contributions which they had received;—promising always to endeavour with the utmost fidelity, to execute the trust reposed in them, according to the pious intentions of the Synod, mentioned in their letter of advice for that purpose. Also setting forth that they had laid a hopeful foundation to provide for ministers widows and children, that they had bestowed a considerable sum, to relieve a Society of Christian Indians that suffered greatly in the late war; that they had provided that proper persons be sent with all convenient speed, to visit and preach among all the frontier inhabitants and to report how they might best promote the Kingdom of Christ among them and the Indian nations in their neighbourhood; with several other particulars as the address itself more fully bears—which letter and address were received by the Synod with all due respect."

XXXIII.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1770.

This correspondence has been taken from the *MS.* Minutes of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, access to which was freely given me in the summer of 1884, through the kindness of Rev. Prof. A. F. Mitchell, D.D., and Mr. Douglas.

(1.)

"Letter from the Moderator of the Synod of N. York.
1770, May 29, Sess. 5.

"There was produced and read a Letter from the Moderator of the Synod of New York. The Tenor whereof follows. Reverend Sir, The Synod of New York, and Philadelphia, being persuaded it will answer many valuable purposes, have come to the Resolution of holding correspondence by Letters with the Protestant Churches in Europe. This they hope will not only be a mean of receiving and communicating information, advice or assistance on particular occasions, but an expression and testimony of that Love and Union which ought to subsist between one part of the Catholic Church and another, how remote soever in respect of situation. Having formed such a Resolution, it was natural for them first to turn their eyes to the Church of Scotland, to which they are of all others the most entirely conformed, and, from which indeed they may be said to have derived their origin. Many or most of the first Presbyterian Ministers in this Country had their education in Scotland, and formed their infant Societys on the model of your most excellent Constitution; and now, that the body has become more considerable, we continue steadily attached to the same principles. The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms are publickly adopted by every Minister, as a test of Orthodoxy at his admission, and the laws and practice of the Church of Scotland have Chief Authority with us in point of Government. The Churches under our Care are scattered over the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas,

an extent of near one thousand miles. It is but about seventy years since the first Presbytery met in this Country; the Synod now consists of ten Presbyteries, which contain from the Accounts taken this year one hundred and twenty seven Ministers, besides these, there are about two hundred vacancies, that is to say, Congregations or Societys formed, altho' not as yet having houses built for publick Worship, and depending on this Synod for supply; a great number of these could support Ministers singly, if they could procure them, and the rest by joining two or three together, and from the rapid population of the Country, new Societys are formed every year, and the old increase in number. We return thanks to your Venerable Body for the great Assistance that has been formerly given by the Church of Scotland to the Presbyterian interest in this Country; what we chiefly want at present is Ministers, the demand for them being much greater than the supply. We are sensible of the difficulty of proposing any particular Scheme for remedying this evil, but, perhaps, the Knowledge of our situation in Scotland, by means of the present letter, may induce some piously disposed young men, of sound principles to visit America, or to make such inquiries as may afterwards be followed by this effect. We shall esteem it a great happiness to hear from you, and to know your state; and in the mean time conclude with Praying that Almighty God may eminently bless the Church of Scotland, and that the purity of her Faith and Worship may continue untainted, and her external privileges be handed down unviolated to the latest ages. Signed in name, presence, and by appointment of the Synod, by Reverend Sir, Your most obedient, and most humble servant, (signed) William Kirkpatrick, Moderator of the Synod, addressed, To the Reverend the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to be communicated. And it having been moved, that a standing committee be appointed, first to draw up an Answer to the above Letter, and then to continue the correspondence from time to time, to consist partly of Members of this Assembly, and partly of other Ministers and Elders near to this place, which Motion having been considered by the General Assembly, they appointed the following Committee to draw up an answer to the above letter, and bring the same into this Assembly, and also to bring in a Nomination of a proper standing Committee to correspond with the Synod of New York viz. Principal Robertson, Doctor James

McKnight, Doctor James Blenshall, Principal Leechman, Mr. David Thomson, Doctor John Chalmers, Principal Murison, Ministers, Mr. Patrick Boyle, Mr. Sollicitor Dundas, Mr. Alexander Ferguson, The Procurator, Sir James Cockburn, Provost Ingram and Dean of Guild Smellie, Ruling Elders, and appointed them to meet in this place at the rising of this sederunt."

(2.)

"Answer to the Letter from the
Synod of New York.
1770, June 4, Sess. Ult.

"The General Assembly called for the report of the Committee appointed to prepare an Answer to the letter from the Moderator of the Synod of New York and a nomination of a standing Committee to correspond with that Synod, the same was given in and read. The Tenor whereof follows. Reverend Sir, The Ministers and Elders met in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, have considered the letter of the Reverend Synod of New York, and Philadelphia, with the attention due to so respectable a body. As love and union ought to subsist among all the Members of the Catholic Church, we are persuaded that very happy effects may result from a proper correspondence between the Protestant Churches in different parts of the world, and shall not be wanting on our part to promote this brotherly intercourse. It affords us great satisfaction to hear of the prosperity and rapid population of the Provinces of New York and Philadelphia, and we are deeply affected with the circumstances of such of your people as are destitute of the religious instructions which they wish to receive, we have no doubt, but that there may be found in this Country several young men regularly educated, and well qualified by their piety and literature, to undertake the Charge of some of your vacant Congregations, and labour among them in the work of the Lord. The General Assembly has appointed a Committee of Ministers and Elders to correspond with your reverend Synod, upon receiving proper information from you, concerning the situation and circumstances of any vacant Congregation which you wish to provide with a Minister, this Committee will use its endeavour to find a person duly qualified to supply it. We conclude with praying that Almighty God may bestow his best blessings upon you and upon your people, and that he may

give such success to your labours, that they may promote the interests of religion and virtue, and prove a Crown of joy to you in the day of the Lord &c. dated Edinburgh the fourth day of June one thousand seven hundred and seventy. Which having been considered by the General Assembly they approved thereof and the Moderator subscribed the above answer in their presence, and the General Assembly appointed all the Ministers of the Presbytery of Edinburgh as a Committee to correspond with the Synod of New York."

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